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By FREDERIC EMORY

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THE INDEX TO THE 1949 MAGAZINE

The Index to Volume XLIV (the year 1949) of the Maryland Historical Magazine is omitted from this, the concluding issue of the volume. It will be published as a separate pamphlet and mailed gratis to any member or subscriber who may request it, provided such request is received before January 15. It will be sent, without the necessity of a request, to all exchanges and institutional subscribers.

This move has been necessitated by the constantly advancing costs of printing and paper. It will continue in effect unless notice to the contrary is given.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY OF COLONIAL MARYLAND

By Rev. NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER

PROBABLY no group of men in religious history have had any harder words said about them than have the Maryland clergy. Almost any textbook on American church history, almost any textbook of secular history, castigates the Maryland clergy as a quite worthless lot. For example, Dr. McConnell says that Commissary Bray " found among them some devout and earnest men, but a still larger number who had fallen into the easy manner of the time and place, whose professional duties sat lightly upon them, and some whose lives were a scandal, and whose duties were utterly neglected. He began by proceeding against one or two flagrant offenders against morals and decency." [1] He further states, " While the clergy were apathetic, especially while they refrained from magnifying their office, the conflict between clergy and laity lay latent." [2]

[1] S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890), p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Bacon in speaking of the Maryland clergy says, " The demoralized and undisciplined clergy resisted the attempt of the provincial government to abate the scandal of their lives, and the people resisted the attempt to introduce a bishop. The body thus set before the people as the official representative of the religion of Christ ' was perhaps as contemptible an ecclesiastical organization as history can show,' having all the vices of the Virginia church, without one of its safeguards or redeeming qualities." [3]

Sweet says that when Bray reached Maryland " his next concern was to reform the clergy within the colony and bring to bear upon them effective discipline. At his own expense he visited all the parishes within the colony to observe the work and manner of life of the clergy. Two of the most flagrant clerical offenders against morals and decency were disciplined, though the Commissary's energetic attempts to better conditions frightened and offended the clergy and people as most of them would have preferred to be let alone." [4]

Tiffany says Bray " . . . found some faithful ministers, but more indifferent and lethargic ones. He summoned some to trial, and endeavored to suppress scandalous living." [5]

These are but a few quotations to show the general tenor of criticism raised against the Maryland clergy in the colonial period. This attitude has been widely accepted and has been quoted *ad nauseam* by secondary and tertiary writers, to the general detriment of the Anglican Church. The question is, Is this a true picture of the Maryland Church? It is this writer's opinion that it is a totally unfair picture, that it rests upon a relatively few cases of outright scandalous living, that it is enhanced by a misinterpretation of eighteenth century language forms, and that the accusations against the Maryland clergy are in many cases political rather than moral.

In order to investigate this question fully I have listed every clergyman who is known to have served for any time whatsoever within the borders of Maryland. Although new facts are constantly coming to light, I have found three hundred men who

[3] Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York: Scribners, 1898), pp. 61-62.

[4] W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (New York: Harper, 1930), pp. 63-64.

[5] C. C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York: Scribners, 1895), p. 68.

served in Maryland between 1632, its founding, and the founding of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1789. Small and unimportant details concerning these men are constantly being added to the file, but at the present time it is safe to assume that we have all of the important facts concerning every one of these three hundred clergymen, that we can determine their length of service in Maryland and something of their general reputation.

In this paper I shall present some of the more sordid details concerning those who have been reputed "scandalous and immoral clergymen." In so doing I think we can show that the number of clergymen who were definitely immoral or who were definitely scandalous in their living was such a decided minority that it is an entirely unfair statement to speak of the Maryland clergy as being in any way inferior to the Anglican clergy generally or to the ministers of any other faith.

Maryland was founded in 1632, but between 1632 and 1675 we have only a few ephemeral characters in holy orders who crossed the actual pages of history. Very little is known of these men. They seem to have established no really permanent work and their transitory nature is such that we need hardly detain ourselves with them.

The first real character of historical definiteness is the Rev. John Yeo. John Yeo came to this country sometime in the 1670's and seems to have officiated all over the Delmarva Peninsula at one time or another. Finally in 1675 as a result of a bequest of land which was to be for the use of the first Protestant minister who would settle in Baltimore County, John Yeo moved from New Castle, Delaware, to the vicinity of what is now the city of Baltimore. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1675 and pointed out that although there were ten or twelve counties with about twenty thousand inhabitants there were but three clergymen of the Church of England.[6] The Roman Catholics and the Quakers had ministers of their faiths. From that time on there seems to have been an increasing number of Anglican priests in Maryland but the exact number has not yet been determined.

In 1692 as a result of the "Glorious Revolution" the Church of England became the established church in Maryland. The Province was laid out into geographic areas as parishes and pro-

[6] F. L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (New York: John Taylor, 1839), p. 49.

visions were made for the support of the priests of the Church of England. There is considerable question as to the exact number of Anglican priests in Maryland in the year 1692. It has been stated that there were as many as sixteen. It has also been stated there were as few as three.[7] Probably the truth lies somewhere between these two figures. By 1696 there were sixteen rectors.

Then in 1696 the Bishop of London appointed the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray as his Commissary for the Province of Maryland. Bray spent four years in England in preparation for his coming to America, years which were spent profitably, years which were spent in developing his system of parochial libraries, arranging for clergymen to come to this country, and to establishing the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. On the 20th of December, 1699, he set sail for America and arrived on the 12th of March following.

Bray had the task of setting up a definite system of government for the Church of England clergymen. His first attention was directed to the settlement and maintenance of the parochial clergy. He then began a visitation and tried to arrange for legislation which would continue the support of the clergy. In some ways he was not exactly judicious. The Calverts had adopted a very generous attitude toward all religions so that from 1632 to 1692, a period of sixty years, Roman Catholics, Churchmen, Presbyterians and Quakers had lived together. For a long time these four elements were the dominant religious groups in Maryland and they had enjoyed some kind of peace and harmony among themselves.

But on Bray's advent he attempted to put through the legislature a bill which would require the use of the Book of Common Prayer " in every church or *other place of public worship* " in the Province. This, of course, was like waving a red flag in front of a bull. This would prevent any kind of toleration for dissenters. It would prevent them from assembling for public worship at all and it really increased the animosity of all parties against the Church of England. Nevertheless, the bill did go through and Dr. Bray has been given credit for its enactment. The result was that we find such strange bedfellows as Roman Catholics and Quakers uniting in the common cause against the Church.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

On the 23rd of May, Bray held a visitation of the clergy and parishes in Maryland. Now we must understand what a visitation is. Today we are apt to use that term in a very broad sense to indicate the fact that the Ordinary of the Diocese bursts in at the last moment, dons his Episcopal robes, confirms a class of candidates, preaches a sermon and hurries off to his next appointment. This is not a " visitation " in its technical sense. When Bray held a visitation, it was a gathering of the clergy and the wardens of the several parishes at Annapolis in a body, which we might well compare to a diocesan convention today. All were required by law to be present. And since they had no such system of bookkeeping or registration of the clergy such as we have today, the clergy were required to be present with their letters of orders and their licenses, and the wardens were required to be present with the pertinent data about the parish.

Bray has left us the articles of his visitation. They were published in London in 1700 under the title, " The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation held at Annapolis in Maryland, May 23-24-25, anno 1700," and contain all of the speeches and acts of that meeting. We find there were seventeen clergymen, including Bray, resident in the Province of Maryland. Bray proceeded to discuss with the clergy the necessity for catechizing and the clergy passed resolutions concerning not only catechizing but also all of the instruction required of those who would be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Then they laid down rules concerning preaching, concerning the work of the Commissary, and other details of administration such as might be enacted by any new organization. Consequently these rules included several disciplinary regulations.

Two clergymen were openly reproved for their scandalous living, and I shall mention them more fully in a moment. It is interesting to notice that all of the clergy present agree with the Commissary as to the necessity of reproving these wayward brethren and they passed resolutions to that effect. It was in order to prevent any such thing from happening in the future that regulations were laid down. Thereupon the meeting ended.

One of the two men reproved was Jonathan White. His offense seems to be that he conducted himself on shipboard in such manner as to give offense to some of the passengers. The exact nature of this charge is not known but it was sufficient to have occasioned scandal on his passage from England. At the meeting of the

clergy he made his public confession of his sins and this was accepted by the whole clerical gathering. Later in the year 1700 he became incumbent of William & Mary parish, Charles County, where he continued until 1708 and in that year became incumbent of Queen Anne parish in Prince George County and remained there until 1717. It is generally accepted that he died in December of 1717.

The second man reproved by Bray was George Tubman. He came to Maryland in 1695 and was resident of Charles County, having charge of both William & Mary parish and Port Tobacco parish. The charge laid against him at the visitation was that he was a "polygamist." We should today at least be kind enough to say that he was a bigamist rather than a polygamist. He was charged with having married a wife here in this country and of having had a wife still living in England. He had been brought before the council of the Province and there he had confessed that in England prior to his entrance into holy orders he had been guilty of fornication but that he had not married the woman in England. And he claimed that if given sufficient time, he would be able to produce evidence that he was not married to the woman in England.

Bray said to him: ". . . I conceive, so considerable a Record as you have now heard, will suffice to found Libel upon. But tho' your Crime should be as great as it appears to be, God forbid that you should not have a due time allowed to you to make your Defense. No, Sir, your Defense is what I desire, and would heartily rejoice to see." And he went on in that light pointing out the seriousness of the crime, a crime committed by a person in holy orders; secondly, by a missionary; thirdly, in a place where it gives greatest scandal and allows the Papists and Quakers ample opportunity to malign the Church at a time when it was politically inexpedient because of the support needed for the new Establishment Bill. Tubman was given until the 13th of November, 1701, to make his defense. No evidence appears concerning his subsequent defense. He disappears from the scene in 1701.

The question to be raised is, Did he die or was he evicted? Of course, if he died, it proves nothing. If he was evicted, it would certainly seem to show that at this time the Church of England in the person of Commissary Bray could and did bring discipline to bear upon unworthy clergymen.

These are the two cases growing out of Bray's visitation in a country where the clergy had had no supervision whatsoever, where there was no one who could bring any influence to bear upon unworthy men. Yet we find that two out of the seventeen were undoubtedly unworthy of the Cloth.

But it is interesting to observe that of the quotations with which I began this paper, that of McConnell, Bacon, Sweet, and Tiffany—all are based upon this particular incident and may imply that this situation continued. It must be remembered that the Church was just beginning in Maryland in 1700 when disciplinary action was taken against two clergymen. Is this justification for the harsh statements which have been made and applied to the next eighty-eight years?

Bray had succeeded in having passed through the legislature the bill for the establishment of the Church, but it was by no means certain that this would be approved in England because dissenters of all kinds were naturally opposed to paying taxes for the support of a ministry with which they were not in sympathy. Bray, therefore, returned to England and by his influence succeeded in having the bill approved in England and thus he secured the establishment of the Church. He resigned his office of Commissary and attempted to have a successor appointed. Here he ran into difficulties because the new governor, Seymour, was violently opposed to any kind of Commissary. In fact, during his administration a bill was passed through the legislature which would place the clergy under the judicial proceedings of a committee composed of the governor and three laymen.[8]

This action has been misinterpreted by Tiffany who says that "Under these circumstances the morals of some of the clergy became so glaring that the legislature proceeded to establish an ecclesiastical court. . . . The measure came to nothing. The scandals in the Church went on." [9]

If one considers this quotation carefully, he will see that Tiffany claims that as a result of Bray's visitation a secular court was set up which was to try the clergy. As a matter of fact this had little to do with the actual morals of the clergy. What was actually going on was that the Commissary and the Governor were at

[8] This was in 1704, not 1724 as in William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, p. 77.

[9] Tiffany, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

loggerheads concerning their respective jurisdictions. Maryland had a peculiar situation. The Calverts had been given the Province of Maryland and they were to own it and to have all the rights of governing it such as the King and Queen had in England. Maryland was a palatinate. The only comparable situation in England was that of the Prince Bishop of Durham, who in ancient times had full jurisdiction over his territory. He could set up his own laws. He could organize his own courts, and he was not only civil but also ecclesiastical governor. Lord Baltimore was in a similar position. He had by his charter the right of nomination and induction into every cure within his Province. Except that he did not actually perform sacerdotal functions, he or his governor acting for him was the Ordinary. He had full control over the clergy, except for the questionable jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In actual practice the bishop's authority amounted to little more than that of licensing the priest to officiate.

When Dr. Bray appeared in the picture as Commissary for the Bishop of London, the Church of England having been established in Maryland, he attempted to set up the full ecclesiastical jurisdiction such as the Church of England had in England. Bray wanted to assume to himself not only an advisory capacity as Commissary but a judicial capacity. He writes: "The Province itself is greatly desirous of having a person under such character amongst them, and towards his support hath done what in them lay to have the Judicial Office of the Commissary, which has the cognizance of Testamentary Causes annext to that of the Lord Bishop of London; which Judicial Office, as they conceive it, will be best vested in some ecclesiastical person, so it would go a great way towards raising a support for one to exercise Jurisdiction over the Church and Clergy." Now it is this difference of opinion concerning the rights and duties of controlling the clergy which caused the Assembly to pass the bill setting up a lay-judicial system of control. Of course, nothing came of this. The clergy immediately objected to London and the bill was not permitted.

In the meantime, although the secular authorities were talking about improving the quality of the clergy, the governor inducted Joseph Holt into the living in St. Mary's County. Bray objected to this as soon as he heard of it in England because Holt had had a bad reputation in Virginia, having been deprived of his living by Commissary Blair for adultery, drunkenness and fighting; and

Bray used this case as an example of the necessity for the Commissary to have the right of induction into a parish. Bray was willing that the Proprietor or the governor in his stead should nominate the living, but Bray felt that the Church could have no control whatever over the men unless the Commissary had the right to refuse induction. It is interesting to observe that in nearly every case in which a " scandalous " clergyman is mentioned, the name is brought out because the writer wants some political power delegated to himself.

Joseph Holt was a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, A. B. 1688/9. From about 1696 to 1700 he was rector of Stratton-Major parish in King and Queen County, Virginia; then from 1700 or 1701 he was for five years in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He returned to England so that his misdemeanors in Maryland were at least of short duration. He was then appointed S. P. G. missionary to Barbados and became chaplain, catechist and doctor to the Codrington Estate, 1712 to 1714. This is an interesting case. Most of the books say that Maryland and Virginia were filled with the cast-offs of the S. P. G. It is generally claimed that the S. P. G. by reason of its strict control over the clergy was able to enforce a higher degree of discipline and that they therefore had better men. Here at least is one case where Virginia got rid of an unworthy priest who came to Maryland and did not last long there, and then was hired by the S. P.G.

Governor John Hart came into office in 1714. The Bishop of London wrote to him and directed him to look into the morals, behaviour and general effectiveness of the clergy in Maryland. He called them together in June of 1714 and says of himself: " Considering myself as a layman & unequal to the charge in hand, I was very tender in offering anything from myself, but digested her Majesty's instructions into Queries, a copy of which is enclosed to your Lordship with a representation of the clergy upon them, as also a letter from that Revd. Body." He then goes on to say: " There are among the clergy of Maryland many worthy persons, who deserve more encouragement than can be expected here. I am sorry to represent to your Lordship, on the contrary, that there are some whose education and morals are a scandal to their profession, & I am amazed how such illiterate men came to be in holy orders." [10]

[10] W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections of American Colonial Church*, IV, p. 78.

The answer to his series of queries on the part of the governor, listed by Perry (page 81), includes the names of twenty-one men. Of this list of twenty-one men, whom Governor Hart says includes some of " a scandal to their profession," let us see what charges can be brought against them.

Thomas Baylye is listed by Weis as being at St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, from 1712 to 1723,[11] and in 1724 at Newport parish, Isle of Wight, Virginia. Commissary Christopher Wilkinson in 1718 wrote to the Bishop of London: " At our last visitation the Church wardens made several presentments. One was of a Mr. Baylye (a clergyman lately come from the Western to our Shore in Somerset), for his excessive drinking, quarreling, and swearing, and I am very well informed that his behaviour hath been very irregular for several years past. I have cited him to appear in July next to answer the articles exhibited against him, and shall follow the instructions of my Commission." [12] It is obvious that though Weis lists him in Baltimore from 1713 to 1723, that in 1718 he is found in Somerset County on the eastern shore of Maryland and by 1724 he had been settled in Virginia for some time. And the only thing which saved him from judicial proceedings on the part of the Virginia Commissary was the fact that the Commissary's renewed commission from the new Bishop of London had not yet arrived.

Here is another case of a scandalous clergyman who kept on the move and for whom the Church's disciplinary action while it was not enough to unfrock him was certainly enough to prevent him from being a burden for any length of time in any particular place. On the other hand, though I do not minimize his drunkenness nor his swearing nor his quarreling, the word " scandal " must be taken with a certain degree of discretion, because we find that in one case the " grave scandal " which had been caused by Baylye was the fact that he had married a couple in a private house. We might even say that today we have not reached that state of grace where the marrying of individuals in private houses caused any degree of scandal whatsoever. So that Baylye does have something that could be said on his side of the case.

The second name on this list about whom any breath of scandal

[11] Frederick Lewis Weis, *Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), p. 22.
[12] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

has been raised is that of John Donaldson. John Donaldson was a Scot and served as rector of King and Queen parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland from 1715 to 1747. There are two references which we have been able to discover which seem to imply any kind of misconduct on the part of Donaldson. The first of these is found in an anonymous publication called " Character of the Clergy in Maryland " which was written in 1722. This is a very interesting document. It lists twenty-two clergymen, gives their parishes and counties and a statement of character after each name. Some indication of the character of the writer of the document may be found in the remarks found placed after every man's name. For example, Samuel Skippon is called " a Whig & an excellent scholar & good liver." Joseph Colbatch is called " a Whig & one of the best of men." Robert Scott is called " a Whig, & a good Christian." Christopher Wilkinson is " a Whig & a truly good man." Henry Nichols is " a Whig & one of the best of men." Daniel Mainadier is " a Whig of the first rank & reputed a good liver but a horrid preacher."

But let us see what happens to John Donaldson. John Donaldson is called " a Grand Tory, a Rake." But he seems to be in Tory company for you find James Wilkinson is called " an Idiot, & Tory." Thomas Robinson is a " Grand Tory." George Ross is " a Tory & belongs to the Society." So it would seem that the character of a clergyman in Maryland to the writer of this interesting document in 1722 means that one must be a Whig or be damned.

This is further borne out by a letter written in 1724 by the Rev. Giles Rainsford. He castigates Donaldson for being drunk, for refusing the sacrament, and for lying. William Machonchie is also described by Rainsford as " a mere nuisance, & makes the Church stink." But when you look into the character of William Machonchie you find that he, like Donaldson, is a Scot. And then you turn to James Wilkinson, who is also among those who have incurred the wrath of Giles Rainsford, and you find that Wilkinson, like Donaldson and like Machonchie, is a Scot—he it was who was called " an Idiot, & Tory " in 1722.

When you put all this together, it seems to be quite obvious that the politics of the clergyman, whether he be Whig or be Tory, and that the origin of the clergyman, whether he be English or

be Scotch, had much to do with the kind of character which was ascribed to him by some men.

The next man to be considered in this list is Henry Hall. Henry Hall signed for the Royal Bounty on January 10, 1697/8 and was licensed to Maryland, became the first rector of St. James parish, Herring Creek, Ann Arundel County and remained there until his death in 1721. It is also said that he served for a very short time in 1694 in All Saints parish, Calvert County. So well thought of was he that in 1714 he was appointed Commissary for the Bishop of London in Maryland, but he refused to accept the position.[13]

In the visitation of Jacob Henderson in 1717 unnamed charges were brought against Hall. He asked for a copy of the charges which were given to him. Having read the charges he refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Commissary in the case.[14] Then in the following year, 1718, the Bishop of London wrote to Governor Hart concerning Hall and said his "character I am so well pleased with, that I am concerned with you to have removed him to make way for a person whose conduct has been so obnoxious."[15] In the same year, June 17th, Commissary Henderson wrote to the Bishop of London and said: "As they thus drew me in joining such application, so they told me it was necessary, in order to succeed, that I should lay aside the prosecution I had on foot against Mr. Henry Hall, Rector of St. James', for threatening your Lordship, & most audaciously contemning your authority and the exercise of it, and giving much scandal by Drunkenness. . . ."[16] Henderson continues and says that Hall had refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Commissary and had offered to have the charges against him adjudicated by four other clergymen. When they agreed that he should ask pardon from Henderson, Hall drew a remonstrance to the Assembly. But as you read the correspondence further you find that Henderson's only objection to Hall is that he and Thomas Cockshutt had "most scandalously" raised up a faction against Lord Baltimore because they claimed he was a Roman Catholic.

It is highly significant that when the clergy of Maryland set up what we should now call a Standing Committee to deal with the

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 82.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

affairs of the Church and to consult with the governor, Henry Hall was the first of six such men named. Here again you find that the so-called scandalous charges against this Church of England priest are tied-up so clearly with his political endeavors that one can at least question the charges of drunkenness against him.

The next man on the list is one whom the governor can scarcely call an illiterate man for he is William Tibbs, Bachelor of Arts from Merton College, Oxford, 1698, and was rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, from 1702 to 1732. Jacob Henderson writes concerning him on March 13, 1731/2: " Mr. Tibbs, against whom there is now a complaint lodged and which I transmitted to your Lordship, continues as bad as ever and proclaims defiance against any power whatever. He is rich and will make strong opposition. I dare not venture to call him to account for want of the Royal Commission." [17]

The charges of the church warden and vestrymen of St. Paul's against Tibbs to Commissary Henderson are found in Perry on page 309 and relate the following: (1) He lived outside of his parish. (2) That he set up his Clerk, a person convicted of felony, to read the service. His Clerk included the Absolution. (3) That he comes very seldom to church himself. (4) That he seldom administers the Lord's Supper. (5) That he refuses to bury his parishioners. (6) Though they admit that by reason of his great age and weakness he cannot perform the duties of his Station, yet he will not make any allowance to any of the neighboring clergy to assist him. (7) They cite instances of swearing and drunkenness and they ask that justice be done and the public worship of God duly celebrated in the parish.

Henderson in his letter of October 11th agrees with them. There seems to be little to be said in favor of Tibbs. He is one of the cases in which the charges against the Maryland clergy are undoubtedly true.

Here then are six men who signed the address to Governor Hart in 1714 along with thirteen other clergymen. Of these thirteen there appears no contemporary evidence which I have come across to show that they were in any way " scandalous." And even of the six men, the charge of " scandalous living " is so involved with the political exigencies of the time that one must be very careful in using it.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

One hopeless case for whom no defense can really be offered is that of John Urmston. John Urmston came to this country in 1709, was S. P. G. missionary in North Carolina from 1709 to 1720, then was employed temporarily at Christ Church in Philadelphia where he raised a faction, and then went to Maryland. In 1724 he became rector of North Sassafras parish in Cecil County, Maryland. His " scurrilous, profane, intemperate, mendacious " manner of living was such that he had a bad reputation no matter where he went. In 1731 the sheriff of the county refused to pay him and inducted Hugh Jones into the parish sometime prior to October 11, 1731.[18]

Urmston then seems to have crossed into Delaware, officiated for a time at Appoquinimy and at Lewes, Delaware. He died in 1732 when his lodgings were burned, probably while he was in a drunken stupor. It may have taken eleven years to try the patience of the Maryland laity to their utmost, but the point is that Urmston was dismissed from his position by reason of his scandalous conduct. I should say that this case, although one swallow does not make a summer, certainly gives evidence that discipline could be brought to bear upon the clergy when the case required it.

The next case is that of Thomas Phillips who matriculated at All Souls College, Oxford, 1698, aged eighteen. From 1707 to 1715 he was a missionary in the Leeward Islands. He arrived in Virginia in 1716 and was settled by Governor Spotswood in " the Parish of the Potomack River " in 1716. There is no parish in Virginia by that name and it is not possible to know what was meant by Governor Spotswood. Phillips only remained a year or two, and then removed to Newfoundland where he remained until 1720. He then became incumbent of the parish on Kent Island in Maryland in 1720 and was there as late as 1731. In the " Character of the Clergy in Maryland " Phillips is discussed as, " Tried for his life in Virginia for shooting a man. Reformed." [19]

The letter of the vestry of Kent Island to the Bishop of London dated July 17, 1726 pointed out that Phillips arrived in Kent Island without a parish and that the Kent Island parish had been without an incumbent for quite some time. They therefore hired him on a temporary basis, during which he behaved himself " gravely reverently and piously to the outward appearance,"; but that after

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

his induction his true character was disclosed. They accused him as follows: (1) Of failure to visit the sick. (2) Of failure to bury the dead, unless he can preach a funeral sermon. (3) Of refusal to baptize infants unless the sponsors are communicants, and of being willing to accept communicants who are sinners in preference to non-communicants who are leading "acceptable" lives. (4) Of insisting on beginning the service on time. (5) "his example seems no more edifying than his behaviour relating to his office, for he keeps and now lives with him, a convicted transported woman servant by whom it is thought he has one Bastard, & which he keeps in the house with him, and has endeavored what he can to keep the whore from justice."

The first four charges would seem to indicate that Phillips was insufficiently bending in his attitude toward rural life, although he could have cited the Canons of 1603 in his own defence for they treat of like cases. The last charge, of course, is a serious one. But it is to be noted that though this letter is signed by ten members of the vestry and others this last charge is not by any manner of means proven for they themselves say, "by whom it is thought." For the sake of the record, however, we will grant that Thomas Phillips was one of the immoral clergy. He did not remove from the parish for another five years.

John Wright was licensed to Maryland in 1729 but he went to Virginia and held some parish there, and according to Jacob Henderson he ran away with another man's wife.[20] The woman was rescued from him and in 1731 and 1732 he was wandering through Maryland. Jacob Henderson wrote to the Bishop of London expressing the hope that he would not be inducted into any parish in Maryland. It seems that Henderson's hope was fulfilled because Wright was back in Virginia in Brunswick parish, King George county, in 1733 or 1734. Wright, therefore, cannot be attributed to Maryland for he never held a parish there.

This same sort of thing is also true in the case of James Cosgreve (also Colgreve, Congrave, and Congreve). We hear of him through a letter written by Henry Addison to the Bishop of London on October 29, 1766. He tells the whole story of Cosgreve, how he was an Irishman who lived a vagrant life strolling from place to place through most of the colonies, and had kept

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

a "house of public entertainment" in Philadelphia. He had been in the army in the siege of Louisburg. He then became a Master of the free school in Prince George county, Maryland. He married, and his wife left him within a week because of his violence to her when he was drunk. He got into debt and ran away. Then he seems to have been ordained in England, and, returning, officiated in Prince George county and at Annapolis. So indignant were the churchmen in those places that he was never inducted and moved on to North Carolina. He, too, must not be counted among the dissolute Maryland clergy.

We now turn to the case of Jonathan Boucher. Jonathan Boucher was one of the most prolific writers of any of the men who came to Maryland. He was born on March 1, 1737 (March 17, 1738 new style). He became a school teacher, and then came to America and became private tutor in a Virginia family. George Washington's stepson was among his pupils. He returned to England in 1762 for ordination. In 1771 he was appointed rector of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's, after having held two cures in Virginia.

Probably one of the most interesting books of colonial Maryland was that written by Jonathan Boucher entitled, "Reminiscences of an American Loyalist." This was reprinted in 1925 by the Houghton Mifflin Company and is well worth reading.

Boucher was a Tory, and was outspoken in his opposition to the American Revolution. He was threatened by the revolutionary forces around Annapolis that physical harm might come to him if he continued to preach in this manner. Consequently, having been threatened, he insisted on preaching on what he believed to be the truth and his last sermon was preached in St. Barnabas' church in 1775. He went into the pulpit, pulled a pair of horse pistols from the pockets of his cassock, placed them on each side of the pulpit and proceeded to preach. He ended his sermon by saying: "As long as I live, yea, while I have my being, I will proclaim, 'God save the King!'" As he left the pulpit the militia gathered about him and marched him out of the church. He returned to England in 1775, held important posts there, and finally died in 1804.

Now the reason I mention Boucher is because one secondary writer, whom I have read but unfortunately did not make note of at the time, cited this case of a clergyman in Maryland who actually went into the pulpit armed with a pair of horse pistols and this was cited as an example of the dissolute lives lived by

the Maryland clergy. Here again is a case where a writer has pulled one instance from a man's life out of its context and has unfairly cited that as proof of a position which I consider untenable. The outspoken defence of what a clergyman considers to be right is usually cited as an instance of his high moral standing. It is for this sort of thing that we held Pastor Niemöller in high esteem during the war. It is for this that a hue and cry is raised over the case of Cardinal Mindszenty today. Yet when cited in the case of Boucher, it is used to prove his dissolute character.

The next case is that of Bennett Allen. Bennett Allen came from England in 1766, having been ordained by the Bishop of Oxford in 1759, and was a warm friend of Lord Baltimore. The Proprietor was so friendly to him that he directed Governor Sharpe to induct Allen into one or two parishes worth not less than £150. He was handsome in appearance, aristocratic, well-educated, but he was also called a controversialist, a brawler, a duelist, a gambler and a sot. It was he who was taken as the typical parson by Winston Churchill when he wrote his novel *Richard Carvel*. Because of Baltimore's letter Allen was inducted in January, 1767, into St. Anne's, Annapolis. Allen objected that this parish did not pay him enough to keep him in liquor. Consequently, contrary to the law, he was placed in charge of St. James', Ann Arundel county. He challenged Samuel Chew to a duel and attempted to cane Walter Dulany. He was then inducted into All Saints parish, Frederick county. The parishioners, knowing his reputation, attempted to prevent this. So to keep the peace and his pay, Allen withdrew to Philadelphia and continued to live there or in Hagerstown. He hired Jeremiah Berry and Daniel McKennon as curates, and he visited the parish church once or twice a year. He did, however, give some attention to the Antietam congregation. We also find Bartholomew Bennett referred to as a curate. Allen returned to England sometime prior to 1781.

Now the only difficulty with this story of Allen is that all of the references to him depend upon letters written by Jonathan Boucher. It is certain that no love was lost between Boucher and Allen for when Boucher left Virginia he had been promised by the governor that he would be inducted into the first vacant parish. Unfortunately for Boucher, Allen, armed with the letters from Lord Baltimore, appeared on the scene at the same time and con-

sequently was inducted into the Annapolis parish before Boucher. Boucher apparently never forgave him for it.

Another instance of Allen's attitude may be seen in his feeling toward the Germans who moved into western Maryland and settled around Hagerstown. They objected to paying their tax of forty pounds of tobacco per person for the support of the Anglican clergy when they had to support their Lutheran clergy in addition. Allen was sufficiently cognizant of their claim to pay the German pastor a portion of his income. To say the least, although we cannot approve of Allen, he was an interesting character.

We have now listed fifteen men about whom any definite charge of scandalous living has been found. These men and their charges are as follows:

Name	*Charge*	*Disposition*	*Analysis.*
Jonathan White	"Scandalous manners" aboard ship.	Rebuked — public confession accepted.	Proved
George Tubman	"Polygamist"—denied charge.	Died or was dismissed.	Doubtful
Joseph Holt	Adultery, drunkenness, fighting.	Left within 5 years.	Proved
Thomas Baylye	Drinking, quarreling, swearing. Married couple in private house.	To Virginia less than 5 years after citation.	Proved
John Donaldson	Drunk, refusing sacrament, lying.	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
William Machonchie	A Scot—"makes Church stink."	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
James Wilkinson	"an Idiot, & Tory."	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
Henry Hall	Drunkenness, questioning authority of Commissary, political opposition.	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
William Tibbs	Various negligences.	Probably proved.	Proved
John Urmston	Drunkenness, lying, etc.	Dismissed.	Dismissed
Thomas Phillips	Various charges.	Removed from parish after 5 years.	Proved
John Wright	Adulterer.	Never inducted.	Never inducted
James Cosgreve	Drunkenness, etc.	Never inducted.	Never inducted
Jonathan Boucher	Violence.	Not a true case.	Doubtful
Bennett Allen	Non-resident, drunkard.	War ousted him.	Proved

As we look over the list of these men and their charges it would seem to me that they can be summed up under the following headings. In the case of five men the charges have been proved against them, and they did not remove for some years after the charges had

been proved. In one case the clergyman was publicly reproved after public confession. One man was dismissed. Six cases are doubtful as to the validity of the charges. Two men, who probably have the charges proved against them, were never inducted into any parish, and therefore cannot rightfully be called Maryland clergy. There are, therefore, seven cases of undoubted scandalous behavior out of three hundred men known to have served in Maryland. You may determine for yourself whether or not this number is sufficient to charge the whole of colonial Maryland clergy with being " scandalous livers."

The thought will immediately occur, if this small number of cases be the only ones that can be proven against the Maryland clergy, why have so many historians accepted the charges against them, and why has the term " Maryland parson " come to be known as a synonym for a scandalous clerk? This question can be answered in several ways.

First, the clergy were supported by taxes. It is extremely doubtful whether any man in any kind of public service can be supported by taxes without having his name and character blackened. From the first settler until the present day Americans have been notorious in their opposition to any kind of taxation, and this is more particularly true when one's taxes are used to support any kind of religious establishment. It is even more particularly true when one does not agree religiously with the creed of that establishment. Consider what was said against New England clergymen by non-Congregationalists. If the clergy today were to be supported by taxes, it is probable that their characters might be besmirched in exactly the same way in which politicians also have a bad name among us. Whether it is true or not, people seem to want to believe any charge laid against a tax-supported person.

In the second place, as has been shown in the examination of the lives of some of these so-called scandalous clergymen, the politics of the time were so important to everyone, clergy and laity alike, that they were apt to charge their political opponents with all kinds of infamies. Throughout this period there were not only the two great English parties, the Whigs and the Tories, but also the Jacobites, those who supported James II and his heirs after the " Glorious Revolution." And since Scotland in general was willing to support James, every Scotsman was suspected of disloyalty to the English crown. Since some of the Maryland clergy were Scotsmen,

they were damned for being Jacobites, and if not Jacobites, at least Tories.

The third reason for the bad name of the Maryland clergy possibly came about by reason of the letters written by the clergymen themselves. There is a certain type of clergyman, not unknown today, who feels it his duty to be a Jeremiah, to point out all of the evils, all of the sins, and all of the misdemeanors in the church, apparently hoping thereby to raise the standard of religion. We know today that this type of person presents an entirely one-sided picture. He never sees the good in the church nor the good that the church is doing. He is apt to be a rather tiresome fellow, and if, some two hundred years from now, someone were to collect the written sermons of many of these clergymen, not only of the Anglican Church, but of every group who call themselves Christians in this country, they might be maligned for the supposed low state of Christian morality in A. D. 1949. This is not a true picture, and the same can be said of some of the Maryland clergy in the eighteenth century. In their letters to England they pointed out all of the trials and tribulations of the Church in Maryland probably with one purpose, the clergy wanted a bishop so that the fullness of the Church might be found in Maryland. And because there was a means of supporting a bishop, it was the hope that the Establishment in Maryland might provide the beginnings of the episcopate in the New World.

The fourth reason that might be given for the bad name of the Maryland clergy is that the governors themselves sought greater control over the clergy. No one else should control the clergy if the governor could prevent it. If the clergy needed control, legislation might be provided whereby the governors could extend their authority. This is seen in the case of Joseph Colbatch. The Bishop of London had informed the Maryland clergy that he was willing to consecrate a Suffragan who should have his See in Maryland, and the Maryland clergy joined together and elected Joseph Colbatch. He was prepared to go to London for consecration. Whereupon a decree of *ne exeat* was issued by the local government which prevented Colbatch from leaving Maryland for any cause whatsoever. And the desire to have a bishop was frustrated by the civil government which meant to have no opposition in its control of the clergy.

The fifth reason for the bad reputation of the Maryland clergy

is another instance of desire for control. As one reads the words of the day he can see that not only were the clergy wanting greater control over the laity, particularly with respect to an ecclesiastical court set up under a bishop, and not only did the governors want to control the clergy, but the vestries wanted to keep their control of the clergy as well. Part of the picture which must be considered is this desire on the part of the laymen to keep their control over the clergy. The anti-clericalism which one finds throughout the Maryland scene in the colonial era is part and parcel with the whole theme which underlies the English Reformation. Trevelyan is quite right when he sees the desire for lay control of the clergy and a general anti-clerical movement as the principle by which the Reformation was brought about in England. This same attitude is to be found throughout the colonial period in Maryland.

The last reason for the bad name given to the Maryland clergy depends upon the Non-Conformists, and more particularly upon those of Methodistical tendencies (I might say there were some of these within the Church in the early period as well), who damned every clergyman who did not have a heart-warming experience, a conversion, such as Wesley had known. As one reads phrases in Asbury's *Journal* and as he reads Bishop Meade's *Old Churches in Virginia* (in which by the way he has a section on the Maryland clergy) he can see that the " evil clergy " about which they speak were undoubtedly men who were performing their tasks in the same way that most Anglican clergymen perform them today, but who had little patience with the emotionalism of the frontier camp meeting. The attitude of these men, Asbury, Meade and the like, has been repeated time and time again by historians who depend upon them as sources.[21] One must question their objective attitude and realize that theirs is entirely a subjective representation, and is not entirely a true picture.

So much then for the evil lives of the Maryland clergy. Of necessity the worst of the lot have been examined.

Had time permitted some of the shining lights of the day might have been discussed in detail. There was Thomas Bacon, for example, whose monumental work on the laws of Maryland is a basic necessity for understanding anything having to do with the legal situation in the colonial period. There was Joseph Colbatch,

[21] Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America* (New York: Harpers, 1881), is a perfect example of the anti-Anglican bias.

called by his brethren to be their bishop. Aeneas and George Ross, who served not only in Maryland but as S. P. G. missionaries in Delaware as well, have been written of in another place.[22] Then there was William Smith who wrote a book of chants and psalmody among other works, and to whom we are indebted for the Office of Institution of Ministers in the American Book of Common Prayer. There was William West, of whom even Asbury could say many good things, and from whom Asbury regularly received his communion. There was William Wilkinson, whose descendants were important people for several generations in William and Mary parish in St. Mary's county. There were Alexander Williamson, senior and junior, and Commissaries Wilkinson and Henderson.

These names are but a few of the many that could be mentioned and of whom any church in any age might well be proud. These men represent the better side of the picture. We must remember therefore, that they represent two hundred and ninety-three cases as opposed to the seven cases of proved "scandalous living" in the colonial period among the Maryland clergy.

[22] Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1947).

AN EARLY VICTORIAN COLLEGE
ST. JOHN'S, 1830-1860

By TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN

If, as Emerson liked to believe, history is but the lengthened shadow of a man, then the story of St. John's College for three decades before the Civil War is really the story of Hector Humphreys, its fifth Principal and a very remarkable person indeed. His administration of twenty-six years (the second longest in the history of the college) set a stamp on St. John's that endured until the days of Dr. Fell, an equally remarkable man. These two are responsible for the physical appearance of the college as we know it today and for much of its peculiar flavor during the nineteenth century.

Hector Humphreys was born in Canton, Hartford County, Conn., in 1797, and was graduated from Yale in 1818 with the highest possible honors.[1] As evidence of his brilliance, it is recounted that a Yale student of a much later day found penciled in a volume of Euclid in the library, beside one of the most difficult propositions, the single dramatic phrase "Humphreys stuck," a memorial of the one recitation he had failed while in college. After graduation he studied law and practiced for a year or so, although his mother had intended him for a Congregationalist minister. He did finally enter the ministry, but it was the Episcopalian; and he then turned to the familiar combination of teaching and preaching, and for seven years was Professor of Ancient Languages at Washington College, now Trinity College, at Hartford, Conn. When the Rev. William Rafferty, Principal of St. John's, died in August of 1830, the Board offered the Principalship to the famous Benjamin Silliman of Yale, and when he declined they turned to Humphreys, who accepted and arrived in Annapolis the following February.[2] The choice of such a man followed the

[1] J. G. Proud, Jr., *Biographical Notice of the Rev. Hector Humphreys, D. D., Late Principal of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1857).

[2] Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, Oct. 7 and Nov. 17, 1830.

established St. John's pattern: his predecessors, Vice Principal Higginbotham and Principals Judd, Davis, and Rafferty had all been Episcopal clergymen; in addition, the first three had been rectors of St. Anne's Church.

What sort of college did Humphreys find when he arrived in Annapolis in the winter of 1831? Let us try to reconstruct it as it appeared forty-two years after its opening. St. John's was still housed in but one building, now known as McDowell Hall but at that time still nameless. Three of the boundaries were as they are today: Tabernacle St. (College Ave.), the line of St. John's St. (the street itself did not exist then), and the waters of what has been at various times known as Sprigg's, Dorsey's, Graveyard, and College Creek. A long finger of this creek, called Strawberry Creek, thrust into the college grounds to a point where, on a modern map, it would touch St. John's St. just opposite the gasworks. This creek has long since been filled in, but as late as 1942 the outline of its mouth was still visible. On the fourth side, however, towards the river, the boundary-line was very different. At that time King George St. did not go beyond its intersection with Tabernacle St., and from this intersection the boundary-line went at an angle to the mouth of College Creek. This end of the grounds was marshy and contained a pond, known as Deep Pond. The college property of that time was approximately twice its present size, although most of it was apparently not used—except to accommodate the cows of the citizens of Annapolis which, during the summer, were pastured there at fifty cents a head, thus providing the college with a modest income. The term "College green," which occurs frequently in the records, seems to refer to the original four acres, the nucleus of the campus, on which its one building was located.

The student body was very small—much smaller, in fact, than during the 1790's, which had come to be known as "the Golden Age." There has been preserved at the college a "Book of Discipline" covering the years 1831-50, in which were recorded the recitations of students and the demerits given to them. From the lists included in this volume and from some notes in Humphreys' hand, we can see that the average enrollment during his

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Hereinafter abbreviated to MBVG. The second volume of these minutes preserved at the college covers the years 1826-1843. Subsequent volumes have been lost or destroyed, and the minutes are not resumed until 1878.

early years as Principal was about seventy. These boys all lived in town, many of them at their own homes.[3] In McDowell's time the younger boys had lived in the college building, but that was now entirely given over to class-rooms. Over this small student-body reigned an equally small faculty: the Principal, Mr. Sparks, Mr. Sudler, Mr. Duker, and Mr. Flusser, their fixed salaries ranging from that of the Principal, $2,000, down to that of poor Mr. Flusser, $200. However, the income from tuition—about two thousand dollars a year—was divided among the professors, each man being paid so much per head for the boys under him.[4] This system made the prompt collection of the fees a vital matter to the faculty, so that it was their custom to entrust this unpleasant job to one of their number, a custom that prevailed until the latter part of the century. That it was not always an easy task, a note, written during the 'forties and now in the college library, from an exasperated parent will show:

April the 3

Mr. Thompson I have not got the money at the present time or I dare ashure [*sic*]you that I would not stand as much dunning as I have stood from you at this time.

David S. Caldwell

The Board of Visitors and Governors had always taken their duty of being *in loco parentis* very seriously, and from the early days of the college had exercised a control over the minutiae of the students' lives that seems very strange today when similar governing bodies are far removed from the institutions they are supposed to manage. Far back in 1796 the Board had concerned itself with what the students should eat, and had decreed that for breakfast the boys were to have the best congo tea or coffee with good bread and butter, the tea to be sweetened with loaf sugar, the coffee with brown. They were to have milk with small hominy or mush or fruit. For dinner, fresh and salt meat. From May to October the beds were to be changed every two weeks; the rest of the year, every three weeks.[5] But as the nineteenth century

[3] The college library possesses a small book of notes in Humphreys' hand, apparently jottings for projected speeches or pamphlets. There are also many of his letters and reports to the Board.

[4] MBVG March 29, 1833.

[5] These regulations were printed for the benefit of Mrs. Dowson, at that time the matron in charge of the building.

moved into its second decade it was the moral nature of the students, not what they ate for breakfast, that concerned the Board. In 1820, just after one of the many crises and re-organizations that have all too often occurred in the history of St. John's, two circulars, one dated in July and one in October, were printed and distributed for the benefit of parents. "Annapolis," the Board proudly announced, "offers no opportunity for secret dissipation. Under the steady and energetic system now pursued . . . St. John's will once more resume its ancient reputation and dignity." But the Board, nevertheless, took no chances, or perhaps they did not believe their own words. The students were sternly prohibited from frequenting "taverns, billiard or ball rooms"—lest some lad should investigate for himself Annapolis' opportunities for secret dissipation.[6] But these prohibitions seem to have been of small concern to the students. Dancing offered an irresistible temptation. This is illustrated by the sad case of Mr. Charles Hanson, student in the Mathematics department. Apparently the austere beauty of Euclid did not suffice for Mr. Hanson, and he was had up before the faculty and charged with the enormity of having attended not one but two public balls.[7] So heinous was the offense that the faculty felt unable to deal with it, and Mr. Hanson was suspended until the Board could consider his case. The Board finally met and voted that the erring student be publicly reprimanded, to impress upon him and the entire student body the wickedness of going to a public ball in Annapolis. And, as a consequence of this side of local life, we find in the regulations for 1838 that "no student shall be permitted to attend a dancing school during college hours, nor shall any student be permitted to atend any practicing ball where wine or any other intoxicating drink is permitted to be sold or used, nor to go to any of said balls which are held later than 10 o'clock P. M." The Victorian Age had come to St. John's.

But though the college authorities seem old-maidishly fussy with their regulations against dancing, they did have their hands full. It was a rowdy age in American college history. Indeed, it was the coarseness of the national manners during this period that evoked the bitter strictures of Dickens and other foreign visitors.

[6] MBVG Oct. 23, 1820.

[7] Faculty Minutes, Feb. 1, 1833. Hereinafter abbreviated to FM. These minutes begin in 1831 and are complete to the present day.

Americans were offended by what Dickens wrote, yet the college records of the 'thirties sound remarkably like some of the American scenes in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. All of the students at St. John's lived in their own homes or in various boarding-houses around the town, and although they were supposed to spend the evening in their rooms, it was impossible for the faculty to keep any check on their comings and goings. The amount of drunkenness was astonishing. The couplet

> Hector, Hector, son of Priam,
> Have you ever seen a man as drunk as I am? [8]

supposedly addressed to the Principal by an irreverent and inebriated student may be merely a legend, yet the fact remains that fully half the sessions of the Board and the faculty during this decade was taken up with investigations of such cases. The student always "manifested due contrition" or "expressed great sorrow for his error," as the records hopefully and repeatedly noted, but he generally proceeded to get drunk and disorderly all over again. The faculty, try hard as they might, could not keep the students from sneaking off to the Citizens' Ball or the Colts' Ball or to what was rather vaguely described as a "party of pleasure at the Ballroom." They made disturbances in the town. Prof. Sparks reported that "Friday night between 9 and 10 the neighborhood in which he resides was alarmed by the clamorous noise of some young gentlemen, apparently intoxicated." He had a grim suspicion that they were students of St. John's.[9]

Their other frolics were not so harmless nor so easily explained away as mere youthful exuberance of spirits. For example, student Francis Lockerman was before the faculty in 1834 for having "premeditated and executed an assault upon the person of his professor," Mr. Duker.[10] For this he was expelled, the first time in the college's history that such a penalty had been inflicted. In 1835 student Tuck had a fight with an apprentice boy on the college green, one early autumn evening, and the faculty dreaded the outbreak of a series of town and gown battles and devoutly expressed the hope that masters would keep their apprentices at

[8] Quoted in *Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of St. John's College*. Published by the Alumni Association (Baltimore, 1890).
[9] FM. Nov. 23, 1834.
[10] FM. May 5, 1834.

home after dark. Eventually, the Board found it advisable to pass a rule forbidding the students to carry weapons of any description—and this rule was not the result of idle fears, because shortly afterwards student Tyler got intoxicated at the circus, returned to the campus, and used a dirk knife on his schoolmate, Mr. Reeder, wounding him seriously " without just provocation." [11] Instead of being sent to jail, Mr. Tyler was suspended from his classes for two months and confined to his room. In October, 1837, W. T. Claude, W. C. Tuck, and S. Tyler were at Mr. Caton's house " which is known to be kept as an open house for the drinking of ardent spirits." [12] The evening being perhaps a little dull, student Tuck enlivened matters by drawing a loaded pistol upon one of the patrons of the establishment. For this he was suspended for a month. And finally, in the same October, Robert Welch, Esq., complained to the faculty that his servant had been assaulted with a sword-cane wielded by Master Richard Furman Chaires of the Grammar School. If the small boys of the Grammar School were flourishing swords on the streets of Annapolis and attacking innocent citizens, the college must have been a desperate place indeed. Nor were the faculty always beyond reproach. For example, Charles Dumas, appointed Professor of Modern Languages, had, by the end of five months, absconded with money obtained by fraudulent means, leaving behind him a cloud of unpaid debts and the memory of " various deceits " practiced upon the townspeople. One can easily see that St. John's was a quite lively place.

Such conditions were not to last, however. As an anonymous bard put it:

> But Humphreys came, and learning smil'd again,
> As sober discipline resumed its reign.[13]

These lines were singularly appropriate. Neither sobriety nor discipline was conspicuous on the St. John's campus, and the new Principal's first task was to restore both. This he did with singleness of purpose and amazing rapidity. He realized that the students, living all over Annapolis, must somehow be got on the

[11] MBVG, Sept. 25, 1835; Sept. 23, 1836.

[12] Mr. Caton was an eccentric tavern-keeper of the period, whose establishment was on West St. The *Maryland Gazette* of this decade contains many of his advertisements, often addressed to his " cousins the President of the United States and the King of France."

[13] *The Alumnus of St. John's* (Washington, 1843).

campus where they could be kept under proper surveillance. The best means to this end would be the erection of some kind of dormitory. With this the Board heartily agreed—they, too, were worried. In the advertisement of 1820 the purity and innocency of Annapolis had been stressed, but that was only for publicity or perhaps the city had degenerated. In 1832 they shook their heads and admitted gloomily that "We often hear that our city has the reputation abroad of being dissipated and immoral." But a dormitory would offer "fewer temptations to idleness and dissipation." So they appointed a committee to study the question. The committee brought in a report that covers pages in the minute book.[14] The gist of it was that the Principal was to be empowered to collect, if he could, the sum of ten thousand dollars by private subscription and, that having been accomplished, to erect any kind of building he thought best.

It is a tribute to Humphreys that he, a New Englander and virtually a stranger in Maryland, should have been able to collect eleven thousand dollars by April, 1835. In June the cornerstone of the new building was laid. It was to have in the basement one public room and the necessary kitchen and pantries. Upstairs would be twenty-five rooms, to hold fifty students, and accommodations for a professor and his family. The cornerstone was laid by Judge John Stephens of the Court of Appeals, and the principal address was delivered by John Johnson, a member of the Board.[15] He had a weakness for the earthquake-and-eclipse style of oratory, then at the height of fashion; but somehow the building survived, to be known for over twenty years merely as "the boarding-house."[16] It was apparently finished in September, 1837, for the Board at that time ordered that the door should be locked at 9 each evening and no student allowed out. Further, no student not lodging there was to be allowed in. A young gentleman residing there was not going to have the opportunity of attending parties of pleasure in the ballrooms of Annapolis if the Board could help it. And once having acquired the building and put the students into it—residence therein was made compulsory for all out-of-town boys in 1841—the faculty lost no time in

[14] MBVG, July 25, 1832.

[15] *An Account of Laying the Cornerstone of the New Building at St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1835).

[16] It received its present name of Humphreys Hall in August, 1857, at the suggestion of J. G. Proud.

tightening the screws until they had built up a set of regulations that would have done credit to a convent. Students were required to pay for the lighting and heating of their rooms and to provide their own furniture—but they could spend only such pocket-money as the professor in charge saw fit to dole out. The evenings must be spent in study; and lest their serious pursuits be interfered with, they were all solemnly warned against " promiscuous light reading." Boys of under fifteen had to be in bed by nine; older boys, by ten. And by 1841 the faculty had even forbidden them to leave the college grounds without special permission, as if the very atmosphere of Annapolis might endanger them. Several boys got into trouble for merely walking down-town. To their eyes, secluded from the world, the streets of the city must have presented a very gay picture. " The ladies," one student of the ' fifties wrote to a friend, " strut the streets in groups of ten or a dozen and seem to be reigning queens." [17] Of course, public places of amusement were tabu, and now private parties were also forbidden. A student could not attend an entertainment in the most respectable home in Annapolis without the express permission of the Principal. Mr. Tyler, for example, was in hot water for having been present at the Governor's rout. The adventures of another student who collided with the strict rules laid down by Dr. Humphreys for the boarding-house appear in a special report from the Principal to the Board:

> On the night of the 5th of May student Mason was refused admission into the new Building, and passed the night in the College Porch. The Board are referred to " the Book of Discipline " for the Secretary's Report of Mason's case. It appears he obtained leave to go into the City, on *business*, as he said, and to return *before dark*. He spent the evening at a private party, and did not return until half past 10 o'clock. The hour to be at lodgings now is 9 P. M. and the time for bed is ten, when the doors are fastened for the night. . . . The Faculty considers that Mason was sufficiently punished for his infraction of the Rules by late hours in passing his night in the porch, where, it appears, he had blankets received from above. . . .

Rules, alone, however, were not enough for Dr. Humphreys. In his notes for 1851 he meditated upon the possibility of surrounding the campus with a ten-foot brick wall—not to keep strangers

[17] Andrew Grant Chapman to William A. Stewart, June 14, 1857. Chapman Letters, St. John's College Library.

out but to keep students in. He felt that young men in America enjoyed too much liberty. Fortunately for the students, he could never find the money to build the wall.

It must be said for Humphreys, however, that he was impartial in his discipline; he was as stern with his faculty as with his students. Members of the faculty were not supposed to leave the campus for a moment during the day, nor were they ever to be a moment late for class. Humphreys was a rigid as any drill-sergeant on this matter of punctuality. The college archives contain dozens of his reports to the Board, made every quarter, of which the following is a fair sample:

St. John's College Nov. 30, 1842

The attendance of the Professors of this College, at their Recitations, has been punctual, during the past quarter; and no absences have occurred except for good cause.

Hector Humphreys

Further light on Humphreys' relations with his faculty is thrown by Prof. Stearns in a pamphlet published near the end of this period.[18] Although it is written in obvious bitterness of spirit, the pamphlet does show the unfortunate side of Humphrey's excessive rigidity. Stearns, who had resigned from the faculty, as he said, " in disgust," in 1853, had a long series of charges to bring against the Principal and of explanations as to why St. John's still remained a small provincial college. One of the most obvious causes of this failure, as he saw it, was that the faculty was horribly over-worked. A professor was expected to spend at least six hours a day in the classroom and then go home and prepare whatever lectures might be assigned to him. And plenty were assigned, for, as Stearns openly charged, Humphreys was a hard task master. The result was that the half-exhausted instructors, whose hours were far longer than those in any other college Stearns could think of, were drained of all vitality and gave only a routine, mechanical performance in the classroom. Nor could Stearns condone the excessive discipline that Humphreys imposed on the students. As he put it, " Young men will not come to an institution that treats them as boys and puts them under school-boy discipline."

There was, however, at least one day in each year on which the

[18] *Letters to T. Watkins Ligon, Governor of Maryland, by Rev. E. J. Stearns* (Baltimore, 1855).

rules were somewhat relaxed: that was Commencement Day, held from 1827 to 1855 on Feb. 22. A letter, now in the Hall of Records, written in 1836 to ex-Governor James Thomas, whose son, William Henry Thomas, was a member of the graduating class, shows the lighter side of the picture:

Council Chamber
Feby 22, 1836

My Dear Sir

Your very esteemed favor of the 19 Inst. I have read. It pains me to hear that you have been confined to your House ever since your return home; & likewise that your daughter is confined to her chamber. When the severe weather passes off, I hope most sincerely, you may both be restored to the joys of sweet health. This is commencement day, & I have just returned from the college, where I witnessed a most interesting exhibition. *All* the graduates acquited themselves with *great ability*, and *especially your son*. His address was *admirable*, delivered with fine effect and good taste. Mr. Goldsborough told me, with a little practice he would rank among the first speakers of our country. His voice good, articulation clear, & action graceful. Had you been present it would have done you good. Mr. Goldsborough's address appropriate and eloquent. The company *very* large. In a word the whole ceremonies were solemn & affecting. I never gave a hundred dollars in my life with more pleasure than I did to St. John's College. In a few years, this college will take rank among the best institutions in our country. I am interrupted & I must stop. I desire to be remembered to Mrs. Thomas & your Daughters. Accept my sincere wishes for your speedy restoration to health, & the assurance of my unabated attachment & esteem.

Nathl. F. Williams

We can obtain a fuller picture of how these commencement days were managed from that of 1852, since this particular commencement was, for some reason, considered worthy of being embalmed in a pamphlet.[19] The exercises, in what is now known as the Great Hall, were as follows:

I. Oration: Chivalry—with the Salutatory Address in Latin: William Sprigg Hall
II. Oration: The Issues of the Nineteenth Century: James Iglehart, Jr.
III. Oration: The Pleasures and Enjoyments Connected with the Pursuit of Science: William Sanders Green
IV. Oration: Dramatic Literature: J. Pinkney Sparks
V. Oration: Fancy versus Fact: Thomas J. Wilson
VI. Oration: Genius, Its Responsibilities and Rewards—with Valedictory Address: Charles Brewer [20]

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[19] *Some Account of the Commencement of St. John's College Annapolis and the Attendant Exercises. February 23 1852* (Baltimore, 1852).

[20] It may be well to remind the reader that the name "Great Hall" is a modern

These effusions—which, by faculty decree, were mercifully limited to ten or twenty minutes—were delivered with "propriety and spirit," and in them we see the almost unrecognizable descendants of the syllogistic disputes of the pre-Revolutionary colleges.[21] This appetite for oratory seems inexplicable to our generation, but the performance does represent the last of the tradition of a "public act" on the part of the graduating student. After the orations had been got through with, the company adjourned to the boarding-house where, in the large room over the library, the alumni partook of an "elegant and substantial supper." Governor Lowe proposed a toast to Washington, and Dr. Abram Claude one to "The Naval Academy and the Officers of the Navy—we rejoice at the presence of the first at Annapolis, and of its representatives at our festival." This toast was answered by Prof. Chauvenet of the Academy, and the evening drew to a close with another St. John's class graduated into the world.

This commencement illustrates quite well a significant change that was taking place. Such exercises were no longer purely intellectual performances, as they had been in the eighteenth century, and were becoming, to a greater and greater degree, social occasions arranged for the entertainment of visiting alumni and of friends and relatives of the graduating class. The commencements of the 'fifties reflect the transitional stage.

The St. John's students of the latter part of the Humphreys era were a very different lot from the roistering bucks of the early 'thirties. The college itself lost no opportunity of dinning into their ears the great change in manners and morals: even the report cards carried a glowing description of the virtues of Annapolis and of St. John's. There is, for example, the report sent to the family of Daniel R. Magruder, valedictorian of the class of 1853, on which, below a picture of the two college buildings, is this assurance addressed to parents:

> Society here is highly respectable and refined, and maintains a wholesome and effective public opinion, which necessarily restrains the conduct of young men who are amenable to it. . . . An unfounded prejudice, in regard to the character of the place for health and morals, must be

pseudo-antique term, first applied during the 1920's. The room was originally referred to merely as the "hall in the college building."

[21] See James J. Walsh, *Education of the Founding Fathers of the Republic* (Fordham University Press, 1935), for a discussion of this aspect of early education.

rapidly dispelled by the united testimony of the families who have taken their residence in the Naval Academy, from different States of the Union.[22]

So much for the town: as for the college, gradually the Principal had been enforcing some kind of law and order; and while the college was by no means so picturesque, it was probably a much safer place in which to live.[23] When we examine the faculty minutes, we no longer find references to dirks, pistols, and sword-canes. Instead, we encounter such pranks as that of student Dashiell who introduced a mouse into the recitation room and then, when the class was kept in, "reclined on the bench and snored." To be sure, student Elliott put gunpowder into the stove, but somehow it failed to explode; and the faculty, finding the roof still on the building, were inclined to be lenient.[24] With his usual thoroughness Humphreys had worked out a scale of punishments by demerits which succeeded in covering most situations:

Absence from recitation	5
Not prepared for recitation	3
Misconduct in class	5
Absence from grounds during study hours	5
Leaving town	10
Absence from church	5
Damage to college property	5 [25]

This list seems to evaluate neatly the sins that a college student of the mid-nineteenth century might be likely to commit. But the awe-inspiring Principal had tamed these lads quite thoroughly. Nothing, for example, could be more demure than this petition found among the Humphreys Papers, hopefully submitted to the Board about 1850:

To the Trustees of St. John's

The students of St. John's desiring to give a small "May Party" in compliment to the young ladies of the school over which Mrs. E. Converse has the honor of presiding do very respectfully request of your Honorable body permission to give the same. And we also respectfully request your

[22] Kindly lent to the author by Miss Mary R. Magruder, formerly of Annapolis.

[23] The moral state of Annapolis always worried the Board excessively. Thus the Triennial Catalogue, 1858-59, triumphantly proclaimed: that because of the "healthful moral influence of its oldest and most respected families the church has literally displaced the theatre." As a result of this, "other cities have been devastated by cholera and yellow fever," but Annapolis had "uniformly escaped."

[24] FM Jan. 9, 1857.

[25] FM May 16, 1856.

Honors (if it be convenient) to grant us the liberty of holding the same in one of the rooms belonging to the college property. Or if it is inconvenient, that you grant us the liberty of holding it in the city.

Your honors as well as the professors of St. John's are respectfully requested to be present, to see and know that all things are conducted properly.

J. P. Sparks
J. Iglehart, Jr.
W. T. Iglehart
R. H. Brewer
R. H. Green
C. W. Stockett

One would like to know if this timid request were granted and if the becrinolined young ladies under the care of Mrs. E. Converse were agreeably entertained on that afternoon of a long-forgotten spring. But certainly the moral tone of the college was high. Witness the indignation of Prof. Capron, writing in 1842 to Col. Moale of Baltimore.[26] The latter's grandson had been expelled from the college for playing cards and, upon arriving home, had spread the report that Prof. Capron was himself so morally lax as to indulge in checkers and backgammon. The professor hastened to deny the charge:

Another misstatement in regard to myself personally, that I play Chequers and Backgammon. Chequers I am entirely unacquainted with, and his gratuitous information is, in this respect, *impudent*, to say the least. Backgammon I often play with my Father, but so far from *permitting* the students to play these or other games, I censure them for so doing. . . .

But the students were not completely without means of amusement—at least of an innocent nature—for, in September, 1851, the Principal so far unbent as to forward on their behalf this request to the Board:

The students who reside with Mr. Worthington [i. e., those living in the boarding-house] ask leave to construct, at their own expense, a *Ball Alley* on the college ground; and it is understood to be not a *Bowling* alley; but an upright plank surface, from which a Ball is to rebound, when struck by the hand; it being their object to pursue this Recreation as a *healthy* Exercise.

This is, by the way, perhaps the first reference in the college records to anything that might, even remotely, be called athletics.

It is unfortunately impossible, within the limits of a short paper, to give an adequate account of Humphreys' long struggle with the

[26] St. John's College Library.

Legislature on the subject of grants to the college; to do so, would necessitate going back as far as 1805 or even farther to trace the fortunes of this contention. Nor is it possible to describe his contributions to the educational system of the college; again, it would be necessary to present a long review of the changing patterns of study, as the old fixed curriculum, depending heavily upon the classics, slowly gave way to the modern elective system and modern courses. It can be said only that it was Humphreys who introduced into St. John's the study of modern science in place of what had always been known as " natural philosophy." He was typical of his age in his admiration for applied science and his tendency to judge the world in which he lived by the supposed benefits of industrialism.

His last contribution to the college was the building programme, begun in 1855. Somehow he galvanized the Board into action and converted them to his own way of thinking that the college should be, as far as possible, a community to itself. The town might, on occasions, come to the college, but the college should not go to the town. The first problem, then, was to provide living-quarters for the faculty, something that had not been done for many years. There is clear evidence in the college records that the first Principal, McDowell, who was a bachelor, lived in the original building along with another faculty-member and Judd, the second Principal, did likewise—in fact, he set aside nearly a third of the building for his own use. Then for a long time the professors lived in town, until the completion of the boarding-house provided quarters for one man and his family. During most of this period Prof. David J. Capron was the occupant. In order to get them all on the campus, the two blocks of houses at either end of the row were ordered. Because of the loss of the records it is impossible to say with any accuracy in just which order the two groups were constructed. Riley says that the two on the southwest end were built in 1855 and the two on the northeast end in 1857.[27] This is probably accurate enough: we know that no houses were there in 1855, and the Sachse print of Annapolis, made in 1857, shows all four of them completed. It is often stated that the two houses at the right-hand end of the row were intended for Principal and Vice-Principal, which, in view of their greater size and elaboration, seems plausible.

[27] Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City.* (Annapolis, 1887).

The new dormitory, projected as the other part of the building programme, was by no means a fulfilment of a need; it was, rather, a gamble on futurities. The boarding-house of 1835 had been built to accommodate fifty students, and this had been ample for the student-body of that time. In spite of Humphreys' best efforts, the college had grown only very slowly. During the years 1850-55 the enrollment averaged eighty-two, and by 1858 it had increased to only one hundred and four.[28] Consequently, a new building was an expression of hope rather than a necessity.

We cannot tell exactly when the new building was finished. Proud, in his eulogy on Humphrys delivered on August 5, 1857, speaks of it as " just erected " and as yet nameless. It was formally dedicated at the commencement exercises the following summer, and the local newspaper gave a preview of the festal scene. The exercises were to be on August 3, and at 10 A. M.: " The new college will be set apart for its high purposes under the style and title of Pinkney Hall with a Religious Service and addresses." Barrett's full band was to play, and in the afternoon there was to be a dress-parade on the college green. That night, according to a programme preserved among the Chapman letters, the commencement ball was held in the new building.[29] This is the first record of a ball at St. John's College. An age was drawing to a close.

The college circular for 1856-7 spoke of the new building as a " fine large edifice " that would have accommodations for about one hundred students besides suites for assistant professors and tutors. It was named for William Pinkney (1764-1822), minister to England and Russia, Attorney-General under Madison, and one of the most distinguished Maryland lawyers of the early nineteenth century. He belonged, of course, to the generation of Marylanders before the founding of the college, but according to his nephew and biographer, he had attended the old King William's School, where he studied under a teacher with the somewhat odd name of Bref-hard.[30] If this be correct—and we can surely assume that the nephew had accurate information and knew what he was talk-

[28] *Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, Jan. Session, 1856, pp. 824 ff. Report of the Committee Investigating St. John's; *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, Jan. Session, 1858.

[29] Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, July 29, 1858.

[30] William Pinkney, *Life of William Pinkney* (New York, 1853), p. 14.

ing about—Pinkney has the unique distinction of being the only absolutely identifiable alumnus of King William's School. His special significance for the college lay in the fact that he had—at least according to tradition—protested violently against the behavior of the Legislature towards the college in 1805.

Humphreys did not live to see the completion of his building programme. Nor is it likely that, had he lived, he would have been at St. John's to see it. As his life was drawing to an end, he wrote to his nephew: " I am getting heartily tired, however, of my position here, and at the close of another year will go to some other employment, if I can find something which I can do." [31] Years of struggle with the endless problems and vexations of St. John's had been too much for even his enthusiasm for the cause of education.

He died, after a brief illness, on January 25, 1857. The students resolved to wear mourning-bands for thirty days; and Dr. Nelson, Rector of St. Anne's, where Humphreys had often officiated as temporary assistant, preached his funeral sermon.[32]

That Humphreys was, in many ways, an extraordinarily able man there is no doubt. He seems to have produced a feeling very like veneration in those, especially his students, who came into contact with him; and the modern reader is apt to grow a little bored with the numerous references to " that majestic form," " that deep-toned voice," and " that constant Christian courtesy." One feels the typical contemporary urge to try a bit of de-bunking. But Humphreys was the sort of man who cannot easily be de-bunked. His achievement at St. John's was a very genuine one. Of course, he had one great advantage over the men who had preceded him in office: time, in which to get something accomplished. His long administration of twenty-six years gave him far more opportunity to study the college and its problems and to make himself a force in the community than the others had had. But in judging him one must guard against the fact that, through historical accidents, we know more about him than we do about any of his predecessors; he is, for example, the only early Principal whose biographical sketch was written by a contemporary. More

[31] Letter to Howard Foote, Nov. 11, 1856. St. John's College Library.

[32] *The Cloud of Witnesses: A Funeral Sermon Preached in St. Anne's, Annapolis, Septuagesima 1857 by the Rector* (Annapolis, 1857).

of his speeches and notes survive.[33] Of the early Principals, Judd, Davis, and Rafferty, not a single trace, in the form of written material, has come down to us. Of McDowell, we have only his address to the class of 1794, which it must be admitted, is a commonplace production. So, because of a greater knowledge, Humphreys seems a much more living figure.

If he did not literally find St. John's of brick and leave it of marble, he did, figuratively, something very like this. In 1831 he took over a college housed in one building, with a dwindling student body and a yearly income of $2,200. When he died, St. John's had one academic building, two dormitories, one of which contained a dining-hall, and four homes for professors. The yearly income was about $7,000. At the time of his arrival in Annapolis, there was no laboratory on the campus, no modern science worthy of the name was taught, and the library was utterly inadequate. He expanded the curriculum to include what were then the latest scientific fields; he assembled equipment of a sort that made even Stearns, one of his critics, admit that the laboratory was good and the collection of minerals one of the best in the country. The library had 4,000 volumes.[34] No such man would rule over St. John's again until Dr. Thomas Fell took office thirty years later. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of "Bladen's Folly" or McDowell Hall, every building on the campus was built by one or the other of these two men.

As the obituary notice said of him, Humphreys was "outwardly . . . stern, as became his vocation," yet he was not without a certain sardonic humor.[35] And like all New Englanders, he had a passionate, almost mystical, veneration for education. The indifference of Marylanders towards it and their unwillingness to support their own ancient colleges puzzled him for twenty-six years. And with keen insight he perceived one of St. John's greatest weaknesses even at that period—its inordinate love for its own past. From the jottings in his note-book it is evident that he had been making a good many discreet inquiries around town about the old days; and in the Annapolis in which he lived there were of course numbers of men who could remember the St. John's

[33] *Inaugural Address of Rev. Hector Humphreys. Feb. 25, 1832* (Annapolis, 1832); *Address to the Alumni and Graduates of St. John's College. February, 1835* (Annapolis, 1835).

[34] Circular of St. John's College Reorganized, 1855.

[35] Annapolis *Gazette*, January 29, 1857.

of McDowell and Higginbotham—and who, characteristically, had probably held forth on the glories of the past. The Principal had, on the whole, a rather low opinion of the college as it had been in the 1790's. Of McDowell and Higginbotham he gathered the impression that they had been good teachers, but for the rest of their faculty he had only thinly-veiled contempt. He called them " rather rough Christians," and felt that their only claim to fame was the vigor with which they had birched the unfortunate students of an earlier day. Yet he was himself, by modern standards, the sternest of martinets. But there was a real reason for this disciplinarianism. One cannot blame it all on an ingrown Puritanism. It was an extraordinarily rough age in all strata of society, and this was reflected in college life. And if the Principal did haul a student up before the faculty for the crime of stopping at a West St. restaurant to consume a dozen or so raw oysters and if the students did devote an inordinate amount of time and energy to the sport of sneaking off campus, learning and discipline did at last return to St. John's.

A BALTIMORE CIRCUIT CAMP MEETING, OCTOBER, 1806

Edited by CHARLES A. JOHNSON

The revival tide that swept over the Trans-Allegheny West in the closing years of the eighteenth century engulfed both religious apathy and the deistic beliefs that had appeared after the Revolutionary War. In the spiritual awakening, known in history as the Great Revival of 1800 or the Cumberland Revival, a new weapon of evangelism was forged—the frontier camp meeting. Previous protracted services had occurred in " forest temples," but in 1800 when the planned practice of camping out was added to the continuous outdoor meeting in Logan County, Kentucky, the revival institution was established in its fullest sense.

The hunter-farmer of the backwoods, whose life often seemed spiritually, morally, and culturally destitute, was enthralled by this new religious device. With its sociability, its simplicity of service, its emotional magnetism transmitted through four or five days of fervent oratory, shouting, group singing, and the inspired prayer of preachers and worshipers alike, the woodland revival afforded the major outlet for the pioneer's pent-up emotions. Undoubtedly, such a popular means of personalized religion could not have flowered in the United States without the existence of a vast area of free land and a temperate climate.

A Presbyterian product of necessity, the camp meeting grew out of the lack of worship and housing facilities for the large crowds who sought religion at the Reverend James McGready's sacramental services. The custom found a ready acceptance in the settled areas of Kentucky and Tennessee. This was the era of " The General Camp Meeting," where the unusual was the usual, where Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist ministers worked side by side, where the crowds numbered in the hundreds and frequently the thousands, and where scores were swept into mass hysteria by the frenzied proceedings.[1] By 1803 the religious ex-

[1] These tumultuous camp meetings are carefully chronicled in Catharine C.

citement had penetrated the Ohio settlements, western Pennsylvania, and had spread back into western Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland. Soon afterward, camp meetings blanketed the young nation, both East and West.

Yet ever since its appearance in the opening year of the nineteenth century the value of the outdoor revival has been the subject of fierce debate among participants and church and secular historians alike. This situation has been due largely to the noise and disorder prevalent at its services and its deliberate use of emotional excitement. The distortions so patent in many nineteenth century accounts are also marked in a great number of present day studies of western society. The fault of these modern writers, products of an urban culture for the most part, lies mainly in their acceptance of part of the camp meeting story (the Great Revival) as representative of the whole. The paucity of factual data has also contributed to the caricature of the open-air revival.

Contemporary factual descriptions of early camp meetings occurring after the Cumberland Revival are exceedingly rare. Those available are usually in the form of a passing reference to it found in the circuit riders' personal and official letters or in their memoirs and autobiographies. The preachers' colorful portraits are often rich in revival lore, but they are frequently drawn from fragmentary notes or memory, blurred by the passing of many years. Although the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted this religious weapon as its own by 1805 while the Presbyterians and Baptists were largely discarding it, its annual conference records are silent on the subject. This strange circumstance is explained by the fact that the camp meeting was never an official institution of that denomination, but only an "extra occasion in the economy of Methodism." [2]

The usual sources, then, offer but fleeting glimpses of a socio-religious institution which was so significant on the American frontier and in the more populous East during the first half of the nineteenth century. Often the researcher is confronted with such vague reports as the one from an Illinois encampment in 1807: "This was a great day—the work became general, the place

Cleveland's *The Great Revival in the West. 1797-1805* (Published Ph. D. dissertation, Chicago, 1916).

[2] Editorial of Thomas A. Morris, *Western Christian Advocate*, August 15, 1834.

was awful, and many souls were born of God." [3] In the light of these circumstances, the accompanying eye-witness sketch of a Maryland camp meeting of early October, 1806, by the Reverend Henry Smith, has an enhanced value.[4]

The fact that the daily order of worship was systematized, as outlined by Smith, is indicative of the changing character of this instrument of evangelism. Orderly services were realizable when Camp Meeting Rules were drawn up by the camp leaders of the West as well as the East. His description, moreover, enables one to visualize the physical arrangement of the encampment which was comparable to the camp grounds of the backwoodsmen. Here, the Altar Services are also described. These were held both in the afternoon and evening, and were the high point of any outdoor revival. Emotions often reached their bursting point and conversions were plentiful as the penitent seekers were appealed to through song and prayer, sermon and exhortation. Finally, the account is unique for its informative statistics.

The pedigree of this document, a letter extract copied by the veteran itinerant, Benjamin Lakin, is of interest.[5] Apparently, preacher Smith began a correspondence with Lakin after replacing

[3] Quoted in James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois, From 1793 to 1832* (Cincinnati, 1883), p. 54.

[4] The years 1805 and 1806 were a harvest time for the camp meeting in many regions, including the state of Maryland. Bishop Francis Asbury, an enthusiastic champion of the revival, reported on this promising state of affairs in a letter to Henry Smith, dated Montgomery, Maryland, July 20, 1806: "I have good reason to believe that upon the Eastern Shore four thousand have been converted since the first of May last, and one thousand sanctified, besides souls convicted, and quickened and restored. . . ." Quoted in Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant. A Series of Letters originally published in the Christian Advocate and Journal and the Western Christian Advocate*, ed. George Peck (New York, 1849), pp. 124-125. The next year Asbury commented again on the great numbers converted in the Free State's revivals in a letter to the Reverend Elijah Gedding, dated Rembert Hall, South Carolina, December 14, 1807: "Mark well. I have either seen or heard, directly or indirectly, from most of the thirty-five Districts but some official letters are not come to hand. But from what I have collected, Camp Meetings are as common now as Quarter meetings were twenty years back in many Districts, happy hundreds have been converted; in others happy thousands. Glory! Glory! Glory! Reputable report says, in the East of Maryland, last August, [a] Camp Meeting [lasted] eighteen days, 2500 or 3,000 converted. Oh my Brother, doubt not, the good news you bring, will come to be general." See Letters of Bishop Francis Asbury, The Methodist Historical Society of the Baltimore Conference, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Maryland. The writer wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Reverend William H. Best, president of that historical society, and formerly a circuit rider and presiding elder (District Superintendent) in the later era of the camp meeting.

[5] Long extracts from the Journal of Benjamin Lakin can be found in William W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier. 1783-1840. Vol. IV. The Methodists. A Collection of Source Materials* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 202-260.

him on the Limestone Circuit of Kentucky in October, 1801.[6] The year 1805 found the former appointed to ride the Calvert Circuit in Maryland. In the spring of the year following he was assigned to the Baltimore Circuit with the Reverend D. Fidler as his colleague.[7] The area in Baltimore County near the Big Gunpowder Falls had for some time been a great center of Methodist activity. Long Calm, the site of one of several camp meetings Smith conducted that year, was an ancient ford on the Falls above the bridge on what is now the old Philadelphia Road. Smith's description in his November 11, 1806,[8] letter of a woodland gathering held there from October 8th to 14th so struck Lakin that he made a transcript.[9] This subsequently gathered dust through the years among his "Papers."[10]

The figure of saddlebag preacher Henry Smith looms large in the history of early Methodism in America. His *Recollections* reveal he was a correspondent of the saintly Bishop Asbury.[11] He was one of the first, as early as 1800, to blaze a gospel trail into the Ohio Territory. A highly successful circuiteer with sixty-five years service in the ministry, he was in many ways typical of the selfless Methodist itinerants who labored hard and practiced a

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 221, n. 27.

[7] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 170, 172, 184.

[8] A careful check of Henry Smith's *Recollections* and contemporary church periodicals fails to indicate that this account was ever published.

[9] Evidence supports the belief that the camp meeting in question took place at Long Calm in the Baltimore Circuit, Maryland, between the eighth and fourteenth of October: (a) Daniel Hitt, presiding elder of Henry Smith's district, wrote to Bishop Asbury that at a Long Calm camp meeting held on the above named dates some five hundred and eighty persons were "said to be converted." See entry of November 10, 1806, Francis Asbury, *Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1852 ed.), III, 210. This statistic closely resembles Henry Smith's statement that "579 professed converting grace." (b) Henry Smith's only related comment to that camp meeting was that "On October 7th, 1806, I left brother Carnan's in company of Daniel Hitt, our presiding elder, sister Betsey Carnan, and others, to attend a camp meeting, to be held on Mr. Kell's (now Mr. King's) land, near the Bellair road. . . ." See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 188. "Mr. Kell's land" referred to is now the site of Kingsville. West of the Falls, a site on Camp Chapel Road given by General Charles Ridgely of Hampton was for many years occupied by the Old Camp Chapel. See William B. Marye, "The Old Indian Road," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV (September, 1920), 212, 216; Marye, "The Baltimore County Garrison," *ibid.*, XVI (June, 1921), 145, 252.

[10] Papers of Benjamin Lakin and Journal of Rev. Benjamin Lakin (1794-1820), 13 booklets, are located in the Divinity Library of the University of Chicago. The writer wishes to acknowledge his great debt to Professor William W. Sweet for making that collection available, and for friendly guidance in the field of frontier Christianity in which he is an acknowledged authority.

[11] Consult Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-124, 124-125, and *passim*.

regimen of rigorous self denial. An ardent advocate of the camp meeting, Smith has advanced his claim as being the first to stage one in Virginia, while serving on the Winchester Circuit in 1803. This, at a time when his constituents insisted, " It may do in the west, but it won't do here." [12] He also declared that on June 5, 1804, he drew up " the first rules I ever saw, or heard read on a camp ground. . . ." [13] Henry Smith may rightly be the innovator of the Methodist Camp Meeting Rules. However, as early as 1775 John Waller, a Separate Baptist minister of the Virginia Colony, had drafted a similar set of regulations to govern outdoor services which were comparable to the later camp meeting.[14]

The record shows that Smith was well qualified by experience to write his report of 1806. The letter is reproduced here as it was copied down by Lakin, its peculiar spelling left unchanged.

An extract from Henry Smith's letter

I was at a happy campmeeting in the first of October, the greatest I ever was at. Such an one I never saw before. Our tents were pitched in form round the stand—behind the stand were the coulered peoples tents—Three rows of tents faceing the stand—All the Camp ground hedged in by a brush fence—Two gates for the Waggons to come in at—Plank seats, to seat three or four thousand people, or perhaps five thousand—Our stand was covered with a good shingle roof, and nicely plain—before it there was another stand for the Ministers and Majestrates to sit in—Round the Stand we had a pen post and rail, with three gates, or gaps, and benches inside to bring the Mourners in after preaching—We had three guards. 1. the outer guard. 2. the iner guard. 3. the official guard. The outer guard was to guard the gates, and prevent disorder in the extremities of the Camp—The iner guard were to stand in the Iles and seat the people and prevent disorder there—The official guard were to bring forward the Mourners and admit them into the pen—where active persons were ready to receive them and help them onto Jesus. And then we had what we called runners composed of lads and Boys who whipped away dogs and hogs etc.—The order of every day was as follows—At day break the Trumpets were blown round the Camp for the people to rise. 20 minutes afterwards for family prayer at the dore of every tent—if fair weather—at sun rise they blew at the stand for public prayer, and then brakefasted. At 10 ocloc they blew for preaching—by 2 Ocl. Dinner was to be over

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 166. Consult Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1838-1841 ed.), II, 266-268, for a listing of Camp Meeting Rules.

[14] David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and Other Parts of the World* (Boston, 1813 ed.), II, 397.

in every tent. At 3 Ocl. preaching again, and again at night—on the left side of the stand the preachers had a large tent consisting of two rooms, a dineing room, and a bed room—in our dineing room we had a large table (where for the preachers) The Lord owned our labours and smiled upon us in a wonderful manner. 579 professed converting grace and 118 Sanctification—The glorious flame is spreading—Now I will tell you how we parted—On the last day after brakefast the tents were struck and the people made ready to move on towards home—They were requested to stand in a circular form at the doors of the first row of tents, and when the preachers fell upon their knees at the stand to give thanks to God in silent prayer they were to do likewise, Oh! what a power while hundreds were prostrate upon the earth before the Lord—The preachers then went round the Camp ground singing a parting Hymn[,] the people standing in form almost drowned in tears[.] When we got round the stand 5 or 6 Trumpets were blown at or from the stand which made a tremendious roar, and the people invited to come round the stand—Oh! Solemn Seen! will I ever see anything more like the day of Judgment on this side of eternity—To see the people runing yes runing, from every Direction to the stand weeping, Shouting, and shouting for Joy, Pray[er] was then made—and every Brother fell upon the neck of his brother and wept and the Sisters did likewise—then we parted. O! glorious day they went home singing and Shouting.—Baltimore Ct. [Circuit] November 11 . . 1806—H. S.

THE TRANSITION IN MARYLAND ARCHITECTURE[1]

By Henry Chandlee Forman

Illustrations by the Author.

The subject of the Transition—spelled with a capital "T"—comprises a new chapter in the history of the architecture of Maryland, and in the history of American architecture as well. Until now we have been taking it for granted that when the seventeenth century came to a close, the American colonist stepped—figuratively, of course—from the humble medieval cottage, directly into the proud Georgian mansion, symbol of eighteenth-century living.

If you turn the pages of a standard architectural history, Dr. Fiske Kimball's *American Architecture*, you will jump (still figuratively speaking) almost directly from the Middle Ages in America (chapters 1 and 2), represented by Fairfield and Bacon's Castle in Virginia, to the great age of the Renaissance (chapters 3 and 4), illustrated by Georgian houses like Stenton near Philadelphia and the imposing buildings of Williamsburg. There is no stepping stone recorded in this volume, and in others like it, where the reader may pause as he progresses between inherently different eras.

You might as well write a book on English literature and place Samuel Johnson and Alexander Pope immediately following the Canterbury Tales; or, to continue this Gothic-Renaissance analogy, you might get up a book on Italian painting and describe the full-blown classical style of Leonardo riding hard upon the heels of Giotto, the Goth. Such a work would ignore the transitional artists like Angelico who could paint in both medieval and Renaissance manners.

In the realm of architecture the British did not graduate suddenly from homes like straw-thatched, half-timbered Anne Hath-

[1] This article and its drawings, copyrighted in 1949 by Henry Chandlee Forman, are based on a lecture by him at the Maryland Historical Society on January 25, 1949.

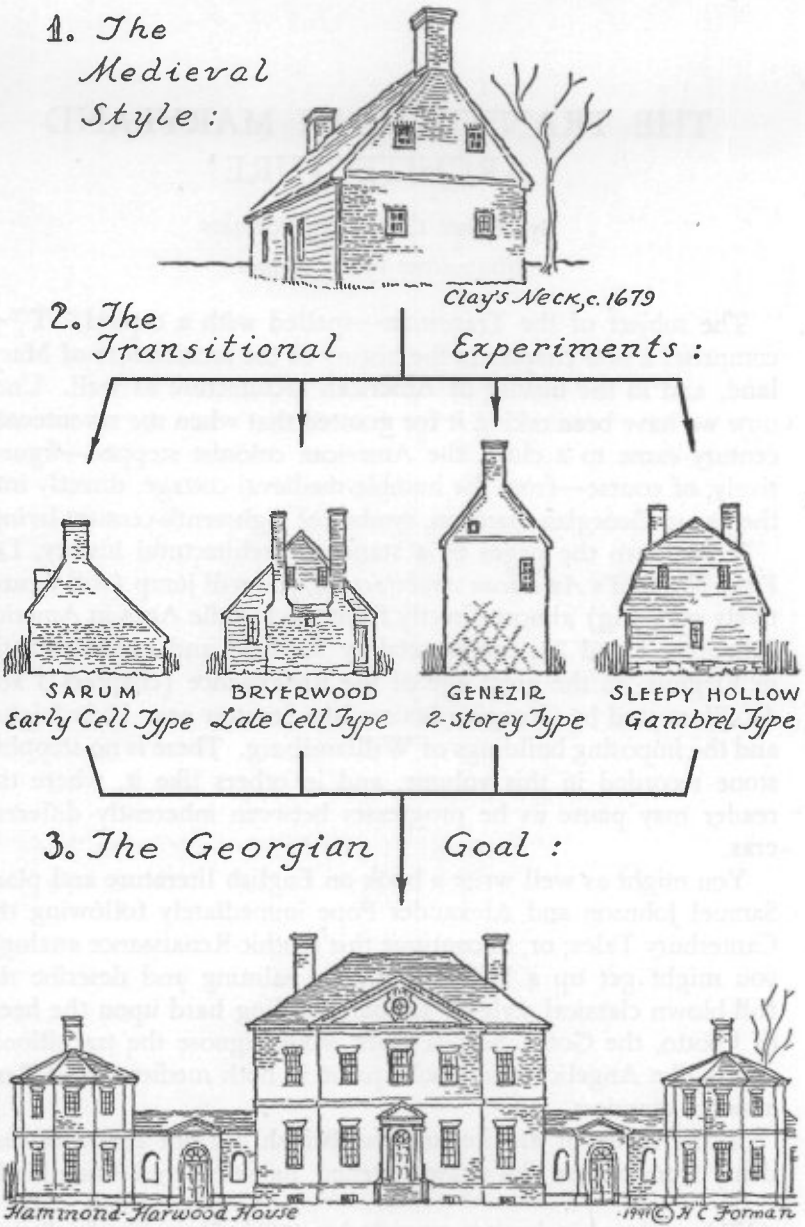

Plate 1. Diagram showing steps in the development of the exterior in the colonial domestic architecture of Maryland.

away's cottage to classically-pilastered Whitehall Palace and Blenheim. In truth the landscape of England contains countless transitional houses, experiments which are neither fish nor fowl, but which partake of both these two ages of man about which we have been speaking.

We came unexpectedly upon the subject of the Transition in Maryland and Virginia very much by accident. When several hundred floor plans and photographs of many kinds of structures are gathered together over a period of years, certain logical developments gradually appear. Today we know that these two states possess a large body of transitional examples which forms a kind of missing link between Gothic and classical styles.

Habits of living, patterns of thought, definite ways of looking at things—as represented in the designs, materials, and construction of the early American home—did not change as suddenly as some of our history books would have us believe. There was a hiätus.

In the seventeenth century the typical Maryland home was Gothic, and—it can not be emphasized too strongly—part and parcel of the English medieval period of architecture. Such a habitation was little more than a bungalow of one or two chambers downstairs and a loft above. The stair was in a case or box, and wound upward beside the fireplace. The windows had casements, and you could not see through the glass, when there was glass. You probably have heard of such houses—Clocker's Fancy, Clay's Neck, Resurrection Manor, The Ending of Controversie, and the first Holly Hill (Plates 1 and 2, *top*).

But it was not on the books that Americans who were approaching the year 1700 should all continue living in that kind of house. Without benefit of governmental paternalism, or of " must " bills, the early Marylander began to look toward a goal which may have been vaguely defined in his mind—England was so far away: a handsome and shipshape residence (Plates 1 and 2, *bottom*), preferably of brick, of two rooms deep and two storeys and attic high, with wings or separate dependencies to balance; a neat and orderly mansion, without steep medieval gables, but with one cornice line for the whole building. What a pleasure it would be to have high-ceiled spacious chambers and hallways, with large white-painted sash windows to let in plenty of light and through which clear views of the garden or tidewater could be enjoyed. Some of these

colonists may have seen English plan books with Georgian dream houses engraved therein.

At any rate, between 1680 and 1720, change was in the Maryland air.

Wertenbaker of Princeton states in his *Golden Age of Colonial Culture* that "an architectural style is a development, not an invention"; and it seems patent that Marylanders living in their "Resurrection Manor" cottages or "Penny Come Quick" bungalows did not invent the "most beautiful" Georgian building in America, the Hammond-Harwood House, and others like it. Such new-fangled expressions involved development, and the key to this development is the Transition. You have to reckon with the Transition.

In Maryland the first signs of this crossroads between Gothic and Georgian may be generally observed in the following characteristics: the diagonal or cater-cornered fireplace, the hipped or "pyramid" roof, staircases which in the lower part of the steps sprout a crude newel post and simple balusters. Further features are the open-well stairs which mount up the sides of a squarish room, the little "aisle" or "cell" chamber at the rear of the dwelling, the long unbroken "catslide" roof at the rear to cover the little "aisle" or "cell," and the sash or "guillotine" window which slides up and down in grooves.

While the casement in many cases lingered in Maryland after 1700, it appears that sash was first installed in the 1680's. Third Haven Friends Meeting House of about 1682 and Walnut Grove of 1683 have every appearance of retaining some of their original sash, if not their early, crinkly window panes.

I have mentioned some features which usually earmark a dwelling as being transitional; but they are ordinarily transitional only when combined with certain house-forms and floor-plans. A diagonal fireplace by itself is no criterion of a house being transitional.

The first shape which the house of the Transition took—as far as research has revealed—is the adding of "cells" or "aisles" to the back of the narrow Gothic cottage. In the same way the typical English parish church of single nave sometimes acquired a side aisle, to make space for more parishioners. In the Maryland dwelling such elongated warts afforded additional bedroom space over and beyond the cramped attic, but unfortunately threw the

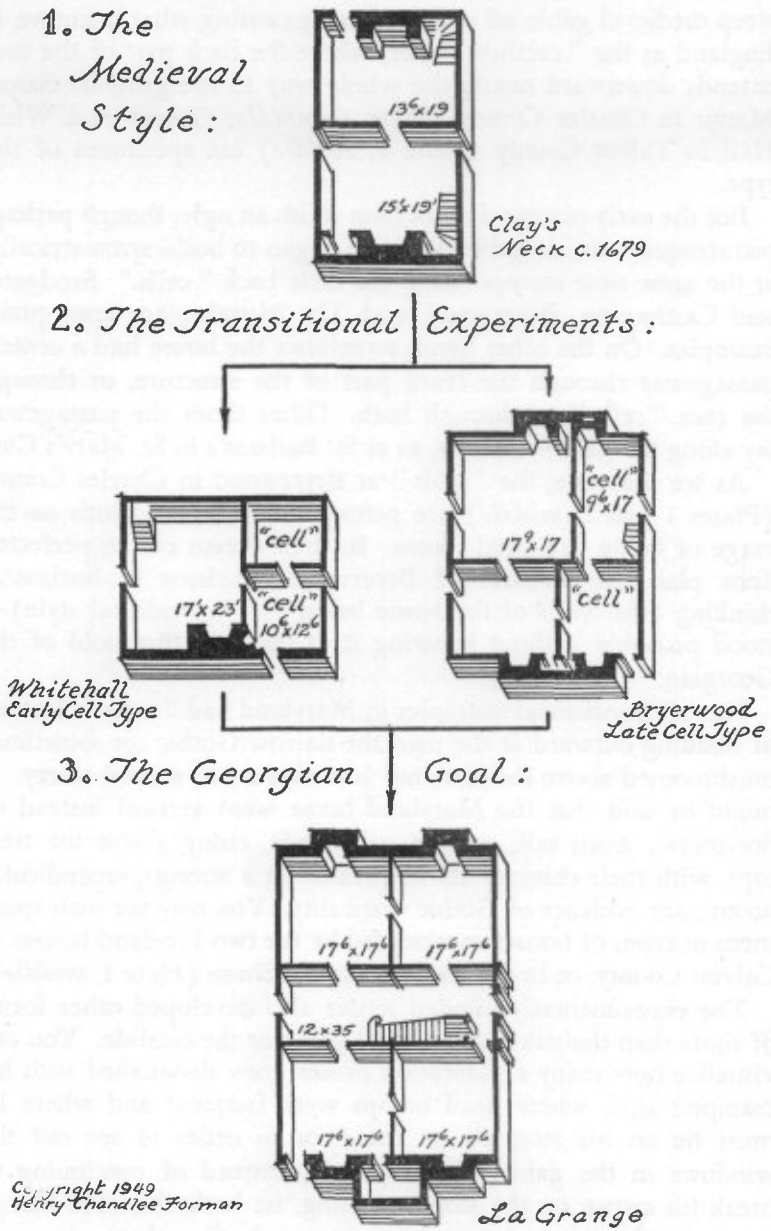

Plate 2. Diagram showing steps in the development of the interior plan (isometric block plans) in the colonial domestic architecture of Maryland.

steep medieval gable off center, thereby causing what is known in England as the "catslide" roof, where the back part of the roof extends downward nearly the whole way to the ground. Sarum Manor in Charles County (Plate 1, *middle*; Cover) and White Hall in Talbot County (Plate 2, *middle*) are specimens of this type.

But the early planter did not long relish an ugly, though perhaps picturesque, catslide gable, so again began to build symmetrically, at the same time incorporating the little back "cells." Sandgates and Carthagena, Bryerwood, and The Mistake, are appropriate examples. On the other hand, sometimes the house had a central passageway through the front part of the structure, or through the rear "cells," or through both. Other times the passageway lay along the gable-end only, as at St. Barbara's in St. Mary's City.

As we shall see, the "cells" at Bryerwood in Charles County (Plates 1 and 2, *middle*) are getting larger, are in truth on the verge of being full-sized rooms. In their dream of the perfected floor plan the builders of Bryerwood—at least in horizontal thinking (the walls of the house being still in medieval style)—stood probably without knowing it at the very threshold of the Georgian.

Not all transitional examples in Maryland had "cells." Instead of budding outward at the rear, the narrow Gothic cot sometimes mushroomed above the low roof line into a full second storey. It might be said that the Maryland home went vertical instead of horizontal. Such tall, narrow gable-ends, rising above the tree-tops, with their chimney stacks presenting a strong perpendicular accent, are evidence of Gothic verticality. You may see such specimens in types of houses represented by the two Freeland houses in Calvert County, or by Genezir on Eastern Shore (Plate 1, *middle*).

The experimentally minded settler also developed other forms of roofs than the straight medieval gable or the catslide. You can visualize how many a plantation owner grew dissatisfied with his cramped attic, where head bumps were frequent and where he must lie on his stomach on the floor in order to see out the windows in the gable. Consequently, instead of continuing to break his crown on the sloping ceiling, he broke his roof line at an angle like a bent leg—you can trust the French to give us a word for it: the *gambrel* (Plate 1, *middle*). Thus we find the

colonist wiser than the modern contractor, who, in places like Towson, still builds and sells bungalows with squeezed-up attics which mark no advance over the medieval style. According to present research, the gambrel roof was introduced into Maryland in the 1680's, but did not become widespread until the 1730's. Because of its gambrel—and for other reasons as well—Cross Manor dates after 1680, and probably in the very early 1700's.[2]

There are some examples of the Transition which at present defy classification into types. In St. Mary's City stood an outstanding building, the Governor's Castle, or St. Peter's, having a square plan of English Jacobean inspiration. John's Point, in Dorchester County, a home unfortunately now in ruins, was constructed in the plan of a "T," with several medieval features, but also with Renaissance characteristics, like the broad stairway with walnut rail.

Further, Bachelor's Hope in St. Mary's County represents a house design of Gothic naïveté and clumsiness struggling toward the ideal of balanced composition in its flanking pavilions. In another county, Anne Arundel, great Birmingham Manor on the one hand harked back to the Middle Ages in its arched vestibule and overhanging second story, and on the other, looked forward to the Georgian style in its symmetrical composition where every room balanced and each wing was shipshape. These two interesting piles, representative of other examples long gone from us, had footings, so to speak, in both eras.

The Transition is therefore a development in architecture which largely may be summed up as follows: the dream of a colonist or settler toward a more commodious house than that to which he was accustomed in the seventeenth-century wilderness—a dream which, when translated into reality, marked a step toward the Georgian goal of more space, more balance, and more formality; the period of experimenting toward that "better" world of elegance and gracious living which was the eighteenth century.

[2] See discussion in the author's *The Architecture of the Old South*, page 156.

LETTERS OF FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

The fame which has come to Francis Scott Key as the result of one act, from which he certainly did not expect such an outcome, has cast into the shadow the other accomplishments of his life. Indeed there has been a tendency to transfer him into some supramundane realm where human traits vanish into an abstract nobility of spirit and thus destroy the real man. It is to recall to some degree the full man, that the following letters have been gathered together. In their brief compass these half-dozen letters reflect the most intense interests of Key's life—his family, politics and religion. The only phase of Key's life which these letters do not touch upon is his notable career at the bar. Although Key was deeply interested in politics, he never embarked upon a political career. His concern was not merely with the manoeuvres of the various political parties, but with the well-being of the nation as a whole.

Of particular interest are the letters written during the War of 1812. It may come as a surprise to many that the national anthem was written during a war which the author felt to be unnecessary. Even though Key could not endorse the policies of Madison's administration, his devotion to his country was such that its defeats and victories were of more than personal concern. His condemnation of the New England secessionist movement of this period makes his position quite clear.

Of the letters in this group perhaps the most intriguing are the first, written while he was in his early teens studying at St. John's in Annapolis, and the fifth, written to his cousin Thomas U. P. Charlton in 1824. Both show the lightness and gaiety of Key's mind, which, unfortunately emerges but rarely in his later correspondence, when his gloomy soul searching predominated to the exclusion of lightheartedness. In the earlier letter the ebullition of Key, with all the incoherence of an excited and over-stimulated child makes at once delightful reading, and at the same time makes him a less remote figure.

To Mrs. Ann Phoebe Key[1]

[Undated, ca. 1790]

Dr Mama

I was at a play The Suspicious Husband and it was very clever a great deal cleverer than Love in a Village or Robinson Crusoe and the man turned himself into a Dog and it was beautiful. When Ranger saw the lady at the window he went up the ladder and said " Up I go a woman by all that's good " and Friday jumped into the sea and he came up with two sea horses and a chariot with stars at their eyes and he put his hand out so and a man came by with a wooden sword and he bought the wooden sword and then he lost all his witchcraft. Hodge came in and said " Was ever poor fellow so plagued with a vixen zounds Madge don't provoke me." And then he came back again and said " Do you think I am a fool that I need to go to school, I can spell you and put you together. A plague of those wenches they make such a pother for ever awhining for something or other." Miss Stoner said " My heart's my own my will is free and so shall be my choice." Hawthorne sang as Papa used to sing, " There was a jolly miller once lived on the river Dee, he worked and sung from morn till night no lark more blythe than he." And he sung my Dog and my Gun. Miss Stoner sung just like my humming top. And Hodge came and Rosetta asked him if he knew her and he said " I could know you I don't know whether I know you or not." And Miss Lucinda sung Dr Aunt you are an old maid, and Miss Deborah told her brother " Brother he is no more a music master than I am a music master." And he said Then you know better than the man himself don't you. Miss Biddy Bellair had three sweethearts and she kept saying Heigho and Tag asked her what she meant when she said Heigho and she said she meant Yes and she loved Capt. Lovet best of them all and she set them all afighting and Fribble was afraid and Capt. Flash too for all he pretended he was not.

I am in the Bible at school I am in Kings and I am but three leaves to get into Chronicles. I have got the ten chapters of Nehemiah to get by heart these hollydays and it is all hard words but I hope I shall get it.

And Robinson Crusoe and all the savages danced and Friday was a negro and all night Mama they were dancing in my room. Aunt Scott says I dreamt it but indeed I did not for I see them all and I want a bit afraid for I liked to see them it was so pretty. And how does Grandma and Sister do when are you acom[ing torn] & and do bring Sister with you you promised you would and ask Grandmama that she hant never come down to see me since I been here tho I went all the way up to Frederick to see her. I hope when the summer comes she will come. And how does Grandmama Charlton and all my Cousins and Aunts. Give my love to Papa and everybody

Francis S. Key.

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[1] Mrs. Phoebe Key (1756-1830). Francis Scott Key attended St. John's 1789-1796. Original letter in possession of Miss Julia McHenry Howard.

To John Randolph of Roanoke,[2] Washington, D. C.

Pipe Creek—Fredk. Co.ty
Oct.r 5th 1814.

My Dear Friend—

I received your two letters the other day as I passed through George Town—I knew your anxiety to hear from us in these alarming times would make a letter acceptable but I have been in such a perpetual hurry & confusion that sitting down to write was quite out of the question.

I took a letter for you from here to George Town which I put in the Post Office there the day before the memorable flight from Bladensburg. From that time to this I have hardly been a day at home & could write you such an account of my adventures as would tire us both. Ridgely however tells me that he suspects you mean to visit him this month, from your asking whether he will be at home, & I shall therefore have the pleasure, I trust, of talking away a night or two with you.[3]

I have just got my family all collected together again & am about returning home. My children, except the youngest, have been here and Mrs. Key (who insisted on getting as near George Town as she could) has been staying at a Tavern on the road, & Occasionally in George Town & Fredk. Town.—I sent some of my effects out of Town & got Mr. Addison to take charge of your papers & mine, your gun is also at his house.—You have no doubt heard how providentially we escaped in George Town.

You will be surprized to hear that I have since then spent eleven days in the British Fleet—I went with a flag to endeavour to save poor old Dr. Beanes a voyage to Halifax in which we fortunately succeeded—They detained us till after their attack on Baltimore, & you may imagine what a state of anxiety I endured.[4] Sometimes, when I remember that it was there the declaration of this abominable war was received with public rejoicings, I could not feel a hope that they would escape—and again when I thought of the many faithful, whose piety leavens that lump of wickedness, I could hardly feel a fear.

To make my feelings still more acute the Admiral had intimated his fears that the town must be burned: and I was sure that if taken, it would have been given up to plunder.[5] I have reason to believe that such a promise was given to their soldiers.—It was filled with women & children! —I hope I shall never cease to feel the warmest gratitude when I think of

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[2] John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833), an intimate friend of Key. Excerpts from the lengthy correspondence between Key and Randolph will be found in Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke* (2 vols., New York, 1850). This letter, written after the bombardment of Fort McHenry, to John Randolph of Roanoke directly refers to the events which inspired the "Star Spangled Banner." Original in Howard Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[3] Charles Sterett Ridgely (d. 1847) of Oakland Manor, Howard County.

[4] Dr. William Beanes (1749-1829) who had been taken prisoner by the British. It was while on a mission to secure his release that Key watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

[5] Admiral Cockburn.

this most manifest deliverance. It seems to have given me a higher idea of the " forbearance, long-suffering & tender mercy " of God than I had ever before conceived.

Whether this gentle paternal chastisement we have been suffering will be sufficient for us is yet to be seen.—I have my fears.—Never was man more disappointed in his expectations than I have been as to the character of British Officers.—With some exceptions they appeared to be illiberal ignorant & vulgar, seem filled with a spirit of malignity against everything American. Perhaps however, I saw them in unfavorable circumstances.—

I wished to have seen your Brother, but was obliged to leave Baltimore immediately.[6] I hear he is now in the City & shall call on him when I return.—

There is great alarm in the City and George Town about the removal of the Seat of Government. I am so uncertain about my own movements that I care but little about those of the Government. If the war lasts (as I think it will) I cannot see how I can live in George Town; & perhaps if the great folks move off little people can live cheaper.—As to the disgrace of abandoning the seat of Government & acknowledging that the Conquerors of Canada cannot defend their own Capital, it would be a serious thing to a people not already in the very dust & mire of ignominy. If I continued to live in Geo. Town I dont know but I should like to get clear of them—As it is, the *Seat* of Government may *sit* (as Holland says) where it pleases.—

I have merely had a glimpse of Standford[7]—He seems to have a large mess with him at Cranford's.—

I hope you will endeavor to make the visit you propose—I will go with you—Can you not contrive to bring Garnett with you?[8]

God bless you
truly yrs

[Signature cut out.]

To John Randolph of Roanoke,[9] New York, N. Y.

Montgy Ct House
Nov. 13, 1814

My Dear Friend

I have been almost deterred from writing to you by the uncertainty of my letter's finding you. Sometimes I hear you are going to *Loganize* it in London; & lastly, Stan[d]ford says your nephew thinks you may perhaps

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[6] Either Henry St. George Tucker (1780-1848) or Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784-1851), John Randolph's half-brothers.

[7] Richard Standford (1767-1816) representative from North Carolina, born in Vienna, Maryland.

[8] James M. Garnett (1770-1843) of Essex Co., Va., a close friend and political associate of John Randolph.

[9] Original in Howard Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

go to Boston.—I hope your next movement will be in this direction—I am really anxious to see you both for private & public reasons—I wish to talk with you about an almost half-formed project of starting a new Paper. I have not time to write about it.—

I fear little from the war in comparison with other mischiefs which I think threaten us. These Yankees are sad fellows. [sentence crossed out.] I believe they will revolt from the Union & consult their selfishness & the personal ambition of their leaders at the expence of every feeling of patriotism & even of party spirit. For in what a situation do they have their brethren of the opposition in the other States. They say they are oppressed—so are we all—& in Maryland & Virginia far more than they are—But to suppose that oppression has reached, or is any where near that extreme point which might excuse a revolt is ridiculous. Constitutional redress is certain if they would have patience.—

I have thought something might be done by an impartial anti-party paper to prevent this & other evils to which we are exposed. I talked about it to Stan[d]ford. He wrote to Garnett who is full of it. We have some idea of riding down to see him in a week or two. I wish you could join us.—

I was glad to see your nephew look better than I expected.[10] He left Geo. Town yesterday, & has had bad weather, & no very comfortable place to stop at & avoid it.—

I regretted he did not let me know they were in Town till just before they left it. Mrs. Key had no opportunity, consequently, of waiting on his mother, as we had intended.

He took your gun with him.—

I will hope to see you soon—

Farewell—

ever yrs.

F. S. Key.

To Mrs. Ann Phoebe Key.

Geo Town.
24th December 1814.

My Dear Mother [11]

I am truly sorry to find that we shall not spend our Christmas here together as I had hoped—I will now look for you however at New Year's Day and hope this good weather will continue and that you will not have to delay your journey as Papa seemed to fear in his last letter. I would not wait for the purpose of getting out the wheat for I suppose he could make a bargain for it and have time allowed to deliver it when you return or if not yet I should think with despatch 4 or 5 hundred bushels might be

[10] Tudor Randolph whose premature death in 1815 was a grievous loss to John Randolph who worshipped his brilliant nephew.

[11] Letter in possession of Miss Julia McHenry Howard.

got out in a week or so and the rest could be sold if there is more to spare when you returned. The children are very impatient to see you particularly Anne who often talks of you both. Edward runs about and begins to try to call us.

Mr. McDowell was in Town a few days ago [12]—he has been to Annapolis and left all our friends at Bellevoir well Uncle Key is expected home from there tonight.[13] I shall be anxious to hear from him whether there is any ground for an apprehension entertained here that Annapolis is in danger of an attack from the Enemy. I should not be surprised if they were to attempt to drive the Legislature away.

There is nothing new here—some people think we shall have peace but I have not the least expectation of it. As things are going on we shall be wretchedly prepared to meet any of the evils which threaten us and I fear the next year will be one of great suffering. We have been most mercifully spared thus far and though our safety has been plainly owing to God's goodness yet nationally we seem to be too insensible to the mercies we have received and too careless about the means of securing a continuance of Divine protection. Let us now my dear Mother use this interval of security (which we are blessed with for this purpose) in preparing ourselves by prayer and consideration for giving up ourselves and all our concerns to God's gracious disposal. Let us remove our affections from this perishing world and often think of the treasures laid up for us in heaven. He " will make all things work together for good to those who love Him." Whatever may be the tempest about us the " peace that passeth all understanding " will be ours. He will call us to endure nothing but what shall be for our good and His glory and whatever seeming evil may threaten to overwhelm us we shall hear his encouraging words " It is I be not afraid." Nor let our prayers be only for ourselves. Let our cares be for all about us and let us join in the many pious petitions that I trust are offering up in this season of gladness for our thoughless benighted and miserable countrymen. Oh if this winter could be thus solemnly spent by all the sincere disciples of Christ how benignantly would He look down on such a work! How omnipotent would be such prayers. " Blessed are those servants who when their Lord cometh He will find so doing."

Ministers too seldom avail themselves of the advantages afforded by these awful times. They are made awful for this very purpose. Men listen and become awakened to whom in ordinary times they would preach in vain. Mr. Davidson is an excellent exception—I wish we had such a one here.[14] Mr. Addison is a very good man but he does not suit the times—we go on in the old way spending more money in weekly cotillon parties than would support in comfort all the poor of the town.[15]

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[12] Probably John McDowell (1751-1820), principal of St. John's College, 1790-1806.

[13] John Ross Key (1754-1821).

[14] Probably Patrick Davidson (1775-1824), pastor of Presbyterian Church in Frederick, Md.

[15] Walter Dulany Addison (1769-1848), rector of Georgetown Parish.

I was as much surprised as yourself at Mr. Davidson's recommendation of the Family Instructor. I believe the Presbyterians generally dislike some alterations we made in it. I see there was lately an order for a large number to be sent to Fred Town. It does not sell well. I suppose he would have said the same thing if I had been there. You were no doubt as much confounded as delighted. I have avoided the confusion and rejoiced at the thought of your delight. I hope we are both grateful for it not vain of it.

May I ever and always my dear Mother give you such feelings.

God bless you. Give my love to my dear father and believe me

Ever your affectionate son

F. S. KEY.

P. S. Uncle Key came home last night—he says they are in no danger at Annapolis—all well at Bellevoir.

[TO THOMAS U. P. CHARLTON [16]]

[1824]

My dear Tom

On going home for a day or two last week I found your letter, but had not time to answer it as I was obliged to return here in a hurry—I heartily wish you joy of your marriage. Judge Johnson had informed me in the winter of your good fortune, and now what a strange discontented fellow you are—one would think that when a man has just got a good wife, he would be willing to sit down quietly at home, get to work and provide for his family. And yet this is just the time when you are full of going abroad, & think of relinquishing a profession by which you can gratify every reasonable resire, to take up a vagabond sort of life subject to the calls and recalls of whoever may happen to have the command of you. You may tell me (& I suppose it is of course & I would take the privilege of a relation to tell Mrs. Charlton to insist upon it that it should be so, though I dare say she will require no such hint) that your wife is to accompany you, but this does not remove all objections. You will spend your outfit, your salary & probably more; & when you come back again in two or three years you will I fear be too lazy for the drudgery of the law & you will I know be too proud to come to the city & beg & bow & lie to get another place. I hope therefore you will think of this matter more seriously. I know you despise money and prudence & all such matters & shall therefore only use the *argumentum ad hominem*.—Take therefore your idol fame & consider whether you cannot in a fair professional career, gather as bright laurels as those that have been stinking of the foul head of that wretch Edwards.[17] However I forget that you did not ask me for

[16] Thomas Usher Pulaski Charlton (1779-1835), prominent jurist of Georgia, was a cousin of Key. Letter in possession of Miss Julia McHenry Howard.

[17] Ninian Edwards (1775-1833) had been appointed minister to Mexico, but

advice; but for intelligence as to the prospect of success & aid if there was any way in which I could render it.—As to aid you know I have no political influence, and therefore nothing to give for anything I might ask. To get anything without having something to give for it is, I presume out of the question at Courts: unless perhaps to some very particular court favourites; & they too poor Devils have to give something, that is, themselves (if that is anything) for all they get—As to intelligence if you wish to know what Mr. Monroe would say in case I called upon him & asked how you stood and what prospect there was of your appointment, I can give you his answer now, just as well as if I had waited upon him and taken it down in black and white. And if you chuse it, I will call upon him and let you know exactly what he says. But as I can do it just as well beforehand, I do not see why I need make you wait for it—Here it is then—(Presidens loquitur) "Mr. Charlton of Georgia"—O Yes—I recollect him, Sir, very well—we have received his letters & his recommendations are very strong—very high & from the first men—nobody can come before us with greater claims to consideration—and he is a man we know independently of recommendations.—We know personally his great worth and fitness for such a place—indeed Sir for any place—He was much distinguished in Congress I believe." He was not in Congress Sir—he attended the Supreme Court when you saw him here, and was Mayor of Savannah during the great mortality there. O! yes Sir I recollect—the Supreme Court—it was the Supreme Court—and at Savannah Sir—he acquired the greatest credit by his heroical conduct—I doubt not Sir, but that such service and such a charatcer will be thought to present very strong claims to any office; but, Sir, there are so many things to be considered on these occasions—there are Sir many applications and so many and such warm recommendations & sometimes so many that are equally meritorious & equally recommended, that really, Sir you can hardly conceive our embarassments." "Suppose, Sir, (excuse me for suggesting anything) suppose in such cases you were to put them all in a bag & shake them well together & see who would come out first?" Why really I thank you Sir that might do often—I think we might have tried it sometimes to advantage—I really wish we had thought of it—I wish we had put Edwards in a bag—But Sir, as to Mr. Charlton you may assure him that there can be no such thing as overlooking the pretensions of such a man. And to be candid, Sir I will express my sincere hope that when this matter comes up before us Mr. Charlton's services and standing may be duly estimated, and that it may be in our power to gratify our wishes in regard to him."—So much for the President—now if you can judge from this what your chance is you are far more quick sighted than our Court followers here, who have been studying such answers for years without being able to make anything out of them yet. And now do you want to know what Mr. Adams would say of your prospects.[18] That would depend entirely upon the

before he could assume office he was compelled to resign because of charges he made against the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford.

[18] John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

person that called upon him. If he was a man that could turn a State or perhaps even a county on the presidential question, the Secy. would try to bend his stiff sinews and soften his hard face & would be as polite and promising as possible, & would look more smooth than it could be thought such a cross grained piece of stuff could. But if I was to call upon him, as soon as he saw me, he would feel pleased to think that there was a fellow to whom he could be as short and crusty as he liked: and you would have a poor view of the matter from the monosyllables that I could force out of him

As to Lloyd he could serve you no better than I—rather worse—for I am but a cypher, whereas he is a figure of some size against the palace.[19] Being an open and violent friend of Crawford they would rather spite him than please him.[20] Besides do you think you are fit to succeed Edwards, Are you fit for anything that fitted him? you may say so but I would not say it for you. I have hardly paper enongh to tell you that whatever you may think of my notions on this subject I hope you know that I am—

Sincerely yr. friend & Kinsman

Francis Scott Key

To Roger Brooke Taney,[21] Washington, D. C.

Tuscaloosa
6 Nov^{r}.—33

My dear Taney

I have determined to wait here for the Dist. Att^{y} instead of going to Mobile, & hope to see him next week.—

I have got acquainted with most of the leading members of the legislature—There are some very clever men among them, and they say they have no doubt a vast majority of the people of the State are decidedly opposed to the course of the Governor.—[22]

I enclose you a paper just published & have marked the article I wish you to read.—I had understood before that an effort would be made here to form a new party composed of the Nullifiers & the Governor's personal

[19] Edward Lloyd (1779-1834) of Wye House, Talbot Co., Md., U. S. Senator, 1819-1826.

[20] William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, was an aspirant for the presidential office, as was Adams.

[21] Roger Brooke Taney (1777-1864), Chief Justice of the United States, married Francis Scott Key's sister, Ann Arnold Phoebe Charlton Key (1783-1855). At the time when this letter was written Taney had just been made Secretary of the Treasury after serving two years as Attorney General.

[22] John Gayle (1792-1859), Governor of Alabama, 1831-1833. Gayle had been a leader of Jackson forces in Alabama, but his strenuous opposition to federal policy in regard to the Creek Indians at this time weakened the Jackson party in Alabama. This was a matter of much concern to Key who had been sent to effect a peaceful settlement. For full details see Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times* (New York, 1937), pp. 345-64.

friends, who should lay aside their differences and unite in opposition to the principles of the proclamation & force Bill, and in sustaining the Governor.—

Some of the Govr's friends & some pretended Union men are for this.—But I believe the Govr himself & and many of his friends will not concur in this. The Nullifiers are, of course, all for it.—Again, there are some Union men so displeased with the Govr that they do not altogether like making the quarrel on such terms as would be acceptable to him and his friends—It is difficult to say yet with certainty how it may end. There are two Comees, one in each house on that part of the Govr's message which relates to the Creek controversy.—The Govr is to make a communication to the legislature on the subject, as he told me he should say that he was satisfied with the measures of the U. S. Govt. were about to take, & that he apprehended no further difficulties.—I was determined he should know particularly what those measures were, and therefore, after I had stated them & he had expressed his satisfaction, I shewed him the copy of the letter I had just received from the Secy to Col Abert.[23]—He read it attentively & objected to nothing but the tone of it—he thought this too strong—He afterwards called at my room and asked if it would be published, as he observed that Col Abert was directed to let the course it indicated be known among the Settlers.—I told him I presumed not & that it was only intended that the Settlers & others should know the course the Govt meant to take. He has since appeared satisfied & says he shall make his communication immediately, & will aid in promoting proper measures to prevent any further difficulties.—

His situation is not a little embarassing—If he offends the Nullifiers he is not sure of appeasing all the Union men—& if he says he is satisfied with the U. S. he will be sure to offend the Nullifiers.—The course that it is desired to take by most of those I have seen is for the Govr to make his communication & the Comees then to make no report on the subject & ask to be discharged.—

When this is done they will endeavour to adopt some measures to prevent any conflict between the State laws & the course of the Govt. in executing the Treaty.—It is much to be apprehended that the Speculators will harass the Indians with the State laws; & I am sure that the only effectual way of saving them will be to buy their lands & send them off.—

You were no doubt surprized at the Govr's speech—His friends here all say they regret it—that he was in a state of excitement. Some say, (whether from conjecture or hints from himself I know not) that it was from something that passed between us.—This I think could not have been the case, for he seemed, from the first, quite disposed to a pacific course.—I rather think some of his friends thought he had gone too far in his message & that he ought to make rather a stronger speech.—I believe too that about this time he was told what some of the contractors at Washington had reported about the language of the President towards him, & this, no doubt, was greatly exaggerated.

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[23] Col. John James Abert (1785-1863) was one of the Indian commissioners.

I have just seen Judge Brockenbrough's opinion & Ritchie's notice of his judgt [24]—I really should not be surprised to see all the South & Virginia with them, committing some folly quite equal to nullification.—I feel anxious to hear how you & the Senate will agree.—I think I see that Biddle is to resign.—I trust you will be able to keep your Banks up.

Farewell
With love to Anne
& the girls
truly yours
FSKey

P. S. As soon as I can have my conference with the Dist. Atty. I shall look homewards and hope to be with you by Newyear's day.—

[24] John Brockenbrough and Thomas Ritchie (1778-1854), editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, were both supporters of nullification.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Peter Harrison, First American Architect. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. 195 pp. $6.50.

With this handsome octavo volume Dr. Bridenbaugh, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, has defined the shadowy figure of New England's most competent Colonial architect. Peter Harrison designed two beautiful neighboring Massachusetts churches, King's Chapel, Boston, and Christ Church, Cambridge, and three splendid buildings in Newport, his long time home. These five structures testify to Harrison's great taste and technical skill, and it is surprising to many to find that he was an amateur.

It cannot be said that Dr. Bridenbaugh has brought Harrison fame, because to all lovers of Colonial art his name has been a famous one for many years. However, he has taken a name and produced a man—ship captain, merchant, and Royal official as well as architect.

Dr. Bridenbaugh's story begins in England and recounts Harrison's early life as a son of Quaker parents in Yorkshire and his youthful urge to ships and the sea. In 1738, by a fortunate meeting with John Bannister of Newport, Joseph Harrison, Peter's brother, obtained a charter for his ship to Newport, and on the voyage went the younger brother. From his landing there for over twenty-five years, Peter Harrison's life was linked with Newport. First as a mate on his brother's ship which sailed between Narragansett Bay and the Cape Fear River, and later as commander of one of Bannister's ships which traded mainly between Newport and London. In 1746 Harrison romantically and rather astutely married Bannister's sister-in-law and after some few further years at sea, took up business ashore with his brother. This latter era of Harrison's life is treated fully in a chapter entitled " Broad Acres and Distinction."

What interest Harrison's life as citizen and merchant had, even as reflecting the turbulent years leading up to the Revolution, is minor compared to that as an architect. As the author says, " It was his ventures in design that gave historical significance to Peter Harrison's career." This sentence sounds the leit-motif of the chapter " Ventures in Design " which recounts the events in the designing and building of the Redwood Library in Newport and King's Chapel, Boston. The amount of material in the way of correspondence between the architect and the committee and building records that Dr. Bridenbaugh has produced is really amazing. It is fortunate that at last the history of the building of these important monuments is available outside of the library and church archives.

The author groups with these two buildings in this chapter St. Michael's, Charleston, which he tentatively attributes to Harrison. It would have been a feat indeed if he had been able to clear up the mystery of the authorship of this noble church, but by attributing it without adequate evidence he only confuses it further. He demonstrates that through Harrison's business connections in Charleston and through his visit there, he might have been invited to prepare plans, but there he produces no documentary evidence that this was done. Lacking this (and, unfortunately, it is all too often lacking in the story of American architecture), one would expect the author to demonstrate by architectural parallels the relationship of St. Michael's to his known buildings. This, however, he does not do except to say " In considering both of these edifices, (King's Chapel and St. Michael's) one is constantly struck by the accuracy of the detail and the attention paid to the proportion of the orders." This is an observation that might be applied to any number of American buildings and is merely a generalization. He does venture one parallel, continuing " It is also significant that these are the only two churches of the pre-Revolutionary period, 1730-1776, which had a portico included in the design." This is unfortunately not the case and significantly enough there is another example near Charleston. Prince William Shelden, a large and fine country church was burned in 1865, but the walls of the nave stand as well as the columns of the heroic portico. Another significant parallel is the continuation of the order of the portico around the church, as at St. Michael's, but here in the form of engaged columns and there of pilasters. This is a feature that does not occur on Harrison's churches, but it does occur again at St. Stephen's, Santee, near Charleston. Also, while the great unaisled nave of St. Michael's, covered b ya vast coved ceiling, is foreign to Harrison's work, it is also found at St. Stephen's. In short it is to South Carolina one must look for the author of the design of St. Michael's, who may have also designed the nearby country churches and the superb ruined tower of St. George's Dorchester, which has the great scale and vigorous detail of St. Michael's.

In Chapter IV, " A Masterly Architect," Dr. Bridenbaugh tells the story of the building of two of Harrison's beautiful Newport buildings, the Touro Street Synagogue and the Brick Market. Fortunately the documentation of these structures is complete and his discussion of them and of the architectural prototypes that Harrison used is interesting and illuminating as is that of Christ Church, Cambridge, which follows. Here he brings to a close his study of Harrison's architecture, and in the final chapter, " The Price of Loyalty," he recounts the last unhappy years of Harrison's life as Collector of Customs at New Haven. As a Tory and Royal official, he gained the enmity of the citizens by energetically and efficiently pressing the king's business. Fortunately, perhaps, he died in 1775 and was thus spared the problems and vicissitudes that confronted his wife and other loyalist Americans.

Dr. Bridenbaugh has done a remarkable work in assembling so much material on the life of a man heretofore so little known to the public. It is a work which sheds much light on the great events that led to the

Revolution as well as on Harrison's life and his architecture. The format of the book is excellent (though the reviewer regrets the grouping of most of the illustrations in the back) and there are valuable appendices and an excellent index. As would be expected, the sources are well referenced in the text. Dr. Bridenbaugh has not escaped the temptation of the biographer to make exaggerated claims for his subject. This is evident in several passages in the book, but especially when he calls Harrison's three last buildings " the supreme achievement in Colonial architecture." They are certainly fine enough, but there are several groups of buildings of equal importance in the country, including the superb mansions of Annapolis. Last but not least, one must regret the subtitle " First American Architect." Harrison was not an American but born an Englishman and lived as one in Newport, (Burnaby described him as " an ingenious English gentleman who lives here ") and died a Tory official. Too there were architects, both amateur and professional, practicing in this country before his time, including Dr. James Kearsley who designed Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1727, and John Ariss, who advertised for commissions in the Maryland Gazette in 1751. These products of the author's enthusiasm for his subject do not detract from his distinguished accomplishment in producing this fine book, a welcome addition to our knowledge of early architects and their buildings.

THOMAS T. WATERMAN.

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. (*A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, Vol. I). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949, xv, 451 pp. $6.00.

Three volumes have now appeared in the series of ten projected by the Louisiana State University Press jointly with the Littlefield Fund for Southern History at the University of Texas to cover the whole field of Southern history from Jamestown through World War II. Although third in order of appearance *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* chronologically opens the story of the evolution of the South as a region with a distinctive flavor about its political life and culture. Professor Craven neatly defines the historical problem of this initial volume in a characteristic sentence: " To write of the South when there was no South is a task not without difficulties." Yet the exigencies of topography, soil, weather, defense against Indians, and the sheer problem of keeping a social order operating could not fail to leave an impression on the communities about the Chesapeake and farther south. The integration of social history and political narrative will bring new understanding to the layman and delight to the scholar, for this handsomely made volume is successfully directed to both the intelligent layman and the specialist.

Professor Craven's conception of his task determines the structure of his history which emphasizes the role of Virginia as the mother of

colonies. From the beachhead on the James River exploration, then settlement, turns north to Maryland and south to the Carolinas. The treatment regards the Chesapeake colonies as essentially a unit, allowing always for the differences bred by the royal status of Virginia and the proprietary control in Maryland. A single description of agriculture, in both colonies devoted to a staple crop, of the organization of the plantation economy, and of the social and economic outlook of the planters serves to eliminate needless repetition.

One principal task of a new synthesis—the presentation of results of important recent research — is accomplished with skill. New studies brought into relation with the accepted facts in the common store of information about seventeenth century America sharpen our conceptions of the period and add new meanings. An excellent short summary of the origin and introduction of tobacco into Virginia (pp. 21-25) joined with the record of experiments by John Rolfe and other colonists (pp. 109, 115) dispel notions that the early planters took over the culture of native *apooke* from the people of Powahatan. The concise account of the " public estate " in the scheme of early Virginia, ordinarily passed over in the histories, tells much of the aims of the London Company and the practical problems they tried to solve in their American enterprise.

At one time colonial historians identified themselves with one of two mutually hostile " views " of early America. The " imperialists " regarded the expansion of Britain overseas as a great movement in which the thirteen colonies played the role of short-sighted malcontents who selfishly considered their exclusive welfare to the neglect of the larger interests of the whole overlooking benefits they received from membership in the empire. This school examined the European backgrounds of colonial history, studied the transit of English institutions and ideas to America, and outlined the workings of English agencies in the dealings with problems of settlement, government, defense, and trade. The " nationalist " school, focussing its attention on internal conditions of the colonies, saw the imperial machinery as a vast structure designed to exploit the colonists for the benefit of a ruling oligarchy in Great Britain. And while the colonists were subduing forest and swamp, building homes, wringing a subsistence from the soil, and defending their families from hostile red men, they were obliged to guard their rights and property against encroachments of crown officers set over them. Both schools, however, had one characteristic in common. Each selected sets of facts which made its view plausible and tended to minimize that of the other. This volume avoids both extremes by presenting both the English and Amerian pictures with balance and a rare understanding of the mutual interactions of imperial and internal affairs.

Marylanders will relish the account of Lord Baltimore's dealings with Claiborne, the development of a representative assembly, and the description of seventeenth century life in Chapter VI which treats the first two decades of Maryland history. The two following chapters on the civil war, interregnum, and the restoration cover the important of the religious toleration act and the efforts of Lord Baltimore to retain his palatinate.

Sixteen plates enliven a text written in sturdy prose which sometimes rises to brilliance in style. The public stands in Professor Craven's debt for this solid volume replete with penetrating interpretations of the facts of seventeenth century Southern history, told with suavity and grace of one who thoroughly enjoys his subject. An index and critical bibliography enhance the value for the scholar.

AUBREY C. LAND.

Princeton, N. J.

Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland, 1694-1949. By ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1949. 42 pp. $0.55.

The past year has seen the remarkable restoration of one of Maryland's finest examples of colonial ecclesiastical buildings. Through the generosity of Mr. Arthur Amory Houghton, Jr., of Wye Plantation the old building has been completely restored, so far as modern conditions permit, to its original form and beauty. It is a piece of work which delights the heart of every historically minded person and rightly deserves to be known throughout the land.

Miss Merritt's pamphlet of forty-two pages has been written with the aim of informing the general populace of the meaning and background of Old Wye. The booklet is the stuff of which history is made for she has gone back to the original records for most of her material. It is an exceptionally fine piece of research, put up in a wholly readable manner to carry the history of the old church and parish from its beginning to the present day.

The research work done in this brochure has been excellent, but there is an obvious lack of background against which to set the particular facts and hence there is a tendency to misinterpret facts which fit into a larger picture of colonial church history. For example on page four we find the Reverend John Lillingstone in Maryland at least by 1681, yet there seems to be some mystery about the fact that he received £20 in 1689 for his transportation. This was often done in the early days of the establishment of the Royal Bounty for those clergy going to the colonies. A reading of my article in the *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church* (June, 1948) would have cleared up this point. Again, a reading of the material written about Dr. Bray and the Parish Libraries, or a perusal of the sections regarding the libraries of SPG missionaries in my work on Delaware Colonial Churches would have given a wider background for the material on page seven.

The question of the consecration of churches on page ten can be cleared up by referring to Bishop Perry's *Historical Collections*, especially the Pennsylvania volume. Here the word is used a number of times for opening of new churches and where one of the Swedish priests points out that while the word is often used among the English priests, yet because there was no bishop in America to consecrate, the term was but loosely used.

But these are points about which research students might quibble. Probably for the average person interested in the history of our country or of the church, they are too minute to worry over. In no way do they detract from the general usefulness of the work or from the joy of reading it.

The architect in charge, William Graves Perry, has written a section on the architectural details of the restoration. Those of us who are architecturally minded would have enjoyed some sketches of floor plans and elevations.

The authors, the donor, and the Historical Society are to be congratulated on a work well done.

NELSON RIGHTMYER.

Colonial Saint Louis: Building a Creole Capital. By CHARLES E. PETERSON. Missouri Historical Society publication, 1949. 69 pp.,16 ill.

This slim monograph is at once impressive for its carefully documented scholarship and its extreme readability, two qualities rarely found together in publications of this sort. It traces the cultural and architectural history of Saint Louis from the time of its founding, in 1764, by a group of Frenchmen from New Orleans who were granted a monopoly of the rich Indian fur trade of the upper Missouri country, until the moment in 1804 when the command of Saint Louis was transferred to Captain Amos Stoddard of the United States Army.

The rising young city in the eighteenth century had most of its houses built in the pallisadoed manner, of posts set upright in the earth, and this type of construction, used occasionally in the seventeenth century on the Atlantic coast, in English settlements, as well as in Spanish settlements from Texas to California, is explained for the first time with documentary evidence; Mr. Peterson has found a number of contemporary contracts, which he cites completely, with an English translation of the early French, that shed a new light on this form of building. A great deal of new material is brought to light concerning the work of carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and other craftsmen, so that a true picture of the community, as well as those who contribute to it, is presented. A chapter on the early mills and factories, too often overlooked by architectural historians, adds to the importance of the book.

The publication might well serve as a model and guide for others who are preparing material on eighteenth century American towns and cities. The material is the result of careful scholarship, all irrelevant material is omitted, and the essence alone presented; most important of all is the investigation into the wealth of documentary evidence for the minor arts and crafts; many of our older American settlements possess such material, hidden in archives, that often in the past has eluded the researcher who is interested in more obvious material.

RICHARD H. HOWLAND.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Virginia on Guard. By MARVIN WILSON SCHLEGEL. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949. xxiii, 286 pp.

Letters from Fighting Hoosiers. HOWARD H. PECKHAM and SHIRLEY A. SNYDER, editors. Bloomington: Indiana War History Commission, 1948. xvi, 406 pp.

During or immediately following World War II, well over half of the States established programs of widely differing scopes to preserve and, in some cases publish, records of their contributions to the war. By assisting in the preparation of several community histories, publishing a state-wide Gold Star Honor Roll, and issuing this latest volume, Virginia has taken the lead over other States. *Virginia on Guard* surpasses the high standards of the previous publications. Dr. Schlegel presents interesting and orderly accounts of two of Virginia's wartime agencies—the Civilian Defense and State Militia units—as they developed at a time when "tragedy and comedy, selfishness and selflessness, bickering and patriotic cooperation were bewilderingly intermingled." The details are well documented, both mistakes and successes are presented, and the story is deftly touched with brief and frequent accounts of the unexpected and humorous events which highlighted the behavior of Americans during their nation's closest approach to total war. The volume is well illustrated and indexed.

Like the Virginia World War II History Commission, the Indiana group originated while hostilities were in progress. Operating as a part of the State's civilian defense organization, it collected every possible record bearing upon Indiana's participation in the war. Culled from the Commission's archives, *Letters from Fighting Hoosiers* is the first publication in a proposed series of ten volumes. It contains 131 letters written by Indianians of all ranks, in each branch of the armed forces, from every theater of war. The book accomplishes its purpose of portraying how the war looked and felt to a representative group of Hoosiers in uniform. Through eyes that remained essentially civilian, they present objective pictures of the good and bad in military life, of the battles and campaigns they helped to win, and of places they visited. Their reactions to contemporary events and problems, to discussions of postwar planning, for instance, are as interesting as they are varied. Not being a Hoosier, I cannot say with assurance that they are typically Indianian reactions, but they are certainly American. Yet, and possibly inevitably, the letters in their final form do not ring entirely true. If a personal reference may be excused, I read several thousand similar letters during the war and I do not recall them to have been as stilted as those in this volume. While many of the Indiana letters contain meaty portions and are, therefore, worthy of permanent preservation, it is, perhaps impossible for the sparks of spontaneity and vitality to glow warmly in material that first has passed military censors and then been subjected to further editing no matter how skillful. In an introductory statement, the editors admit that they have "exercised a free hand in editing" and, for a number of reasons, one can understand

the necessity for their action. However, I cannot help but question the stylistic changes which, I believe, must have been made on a wholesale scale.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE.

The Histrionic Mr. Poe. By N. BRYLLION FAGIN, Associate Professor of English and Drama, The Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1949, xi, 288 pp. $4.00.

Any fresh approach to the much belabored question of Poe's status as man, poet, short story writer, and critic is most welcome; and it is such an approach that Dr. Fagin offers in his book. His thesis is that Poe was by nature and inclination an actor, and that in consequence of the frustration of the histronic urge everything he did or wrote was in the nature of a theatrical performance. "Before [Poe] . . . could function creatively, he always envisaged an audience." This thesis Dr. Fagin develops consistently and convincingly through scholarly appraisements of Poe's personality, and of his literary achievement.

The book has what so many scholarly studies lack, a finished and sprightly style, flavored with touches of unacademic humor. And whether, or not, we accept without reservation the validity of the author's thesis, or the statement of H. L. Mencken that the book is "the best of all the Poe books ever done in English—and by long odds," there can be no question that the work is an important contribution to the somewhat overgrown corpus of Poe studies. Moreover, the book makes delightful reading, a rare quality to which a brief notice like this can do but scant justice.

ERNEST J. BECKER.

Oil! Titan of the Southwest. By CARL COKE RISTER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. xxiii, 467 pp. $5.00.

In this volume Professor Rister makes not only a notable contribution to Southwestern history but also provides a critical evaluation of one of America's most important industries. Though he limits his study primarily to Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, nevertheless it embraces the major oil producing section of the United States. This area alone has contributed 20,000,000,000 of the nation's cumulative total output of 31,000,000,000 barrels of petroleum.

Beginning in 1543 with the earliest report by the Spanish of an oil scum on a Texas creek, he tells the story of man's search for this illusive wealth. Through these pages one follows the prospectors drawn by the lure of sudden riches across the plains of Texas, over Indian Territory, through the swamps of Louisiana, and, finally, into the Gulf of Mexico. This is an exciting story. Few events in American annals hold more inherent drama than the struggle against nature which culminated in the

gusher at Spindletop (Texas) in 1901, bringing into production one of the country's major fields. But many problems followed in the path of the successful "wildcatter"—boom towns with their lawlessness of the frontier; the fight for transportation and markets; demand for improved production and refining methods; the perils of overproduction; and, finally, the specter of a future shortage. This account, and especially the final chapter, "The Impact of Petroleum," should go far toward counterbalancing mistrust in the public mind planted by half-remembered accounts of the Standard Oil Company's early malpractices.

The problem of writing for a threefold audience of oilmen, historians and laymen has probably been solved to the satisfaction of all. The book, while obviously authoritative, is well footnoted, profusely illustrated, and includes a good bibliography and index. An appendix gives the annual production of all major fields in the area. While usually avoiding technical terms beyond the knowledge of the average adult reader, a glossary of oilfield words is supplied for his convenience. Those reading for either information or pleasure will find themselves well rewarded.

JOHN S. EZELL.

University of Oklahoma.

Celebration of the Sesquicentennial of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of The State of Maryland, 1799-1949. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1949. V, 67 pp.

This volume consists of A Brief History of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland by the Librarian Emeritus of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. John C. French; a list of Presidents of the Faculty, 1799-1949, and a list of Fifty-Year Members. From the history we learn that in January, 1799, one hundred and one leaders of the medical profession in Maryland secured from the state legislature a charter for an incorporated society of physicians and surgeons, and that the object was control of medical practice so charlatans would not be able practice on a credulous public.

At this time there was no medical school in Maryland although Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal in 1788 had led in forming the Baltimore Medical Society which planned lectures for medical improvement, from which it was hoped a medical school might be developed. The death of Dr. Wiesenthal in June, 1789, led ultimately to the dissolution of the medical society and abandonment of plans for the medical school.

The act incorporating the Faculty included the right to appoint a Board of examiners which should determine the qualifications of all those who in the future might wish to enter medical practice in Maryland, a function which the Faculty continues to exercise. "The quaint, old-timey name" is believed to have had its origin in the medieval University of Paris. In the original act the names of the incorporators are listed by their county, Annapolis or Baltimore City residences, a total of 105 names. Many of these family names are carried by practitioners of the present.

The account contains brief histories of many of the most prominent members, such as Upton Scott and John Archer. The slim and handsome volume contains portraits of those who have contributed to the growth and development of this institution, pictures of its various homes and the architects drawing of a new building to be erected at the rear of 1211 Cathedral Street, funds for which are now being solicited from the members.

W. R. DUNTON, JR., M. D.

Edmund Pendleton Gaines: Frontier General. By JAMES W. SILVER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. xxi, 291 pp. $4.50.

Nearly forgotten in the annals of American military history is the stormy career of General Edmund Pendleton Gaines who commanded the regular forces in the West during the greater part of the years 1821-1842. General Gaines was closely connected with nearly every prominent politician and soldier during his lifetime. His lengthy and bitter feud with Winfield Scott is almost without parallel in Army records.

Mr. Silver views General Gaines as a builder and defender of the nation. The general spent nearly his entire military career on the frontier and as such made a significant contribution to the physical development of the nation. He, for instance, planned a system of military posts extending the entire length of the frontier to epitomize his belief in the Army as the vanguard of civilization. He also contemplated a system of internal improvements which would unite the east with the west and at the same time promote the national security. Mr. Silver, consequently, regards the general as the symbol of the nation's expansion westward.

In writing this very able study of General Gaines, Mr. Silver has rescued him from oblivion. His service in the War of 1812 is reevaluated and his conduct is approved. Other than a typographical error in spelling the general's name on the dust jacket, the biography is well-done. It is to be regretted that the author could not include more personal data on the life of the general, but this material was not available. Nevertheless, this book helps to bridge the gap in our knowledge of the history of the United States Army between the War of 1812 and the Mexican War and to give the Army its proper credit for the development of the West.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Short History of St. David's Protestant Episcopal Church, Roland Park, Baltimore, Maryland, 1907-1947. By W. CALVIN CHESNUT. [Baltimore: 1949]. 25 pp.

In sketching the history of a church Judge Chesnut has incidentally thrown light upon early conditions and leading actors in the development

of a widely known suburb. It is to be hoped that he will extend his account, for the brevity of which he is apologetic, into a full length account for publication at the fiftieth anniversary of the church in 1957. "Probably the most important factors in the development of any civilization," says the author in conclusion, "are religion and government. The structure and practice of both are of the utmost importance in establishing our form of society and through it the welfare and happiness of its individual members."

A Year With Osler, 1896-1897. Notes taken at this Clinics in The Johns Hopkins Hospital. By JOSEPH H. PRATT. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949. 209 pp. $4.00.

In this attractive little volume Dr. Pratt recalls many of the high lights of a student's contacts with one of the greatest teachers and one of the most princely characters of all medical history. After two years of arduous labor in anatomy, physiology, and other basic studies, the students first came in contact with clinical medicine in their third or junior year. Dr. Osler met them in the dispensary at noon on Tuesdays and Thursdays and on Wednesdays he met both the juniors and seniors in the surgical amphitheatre for the noon hour.

Joe Pratt was a rapid and accurate note-taker and in this book he succeeds in drawing a picture of Dr. Osler and his methods of extracting from the patient a searching history of his past and present family connections and of his deviations from health from infancy to the present, in the meantime making a note on any mental or nervous peculiarities. He depicts Osler's Conan Doyle methods of scrutinizing the patient's physical status as revealed by the diagnostician's use of his five senses.

Since that early day with Osler there have come into universal use various instruments of precision in aiding diagnosis, such as the syphgmotometer and the electro-cardiograph for registering variations in heart and blood vessels, and the X-ray for diagnosis of conditions affecting the deeper tissues and organs. While these newer diagnostic aids are of inestimable value, one often wonders whether certain important features of a complicated case that would be found by the slower and more onerous method of precise history-recording and careful use of the five senses are not overlooked in our short-cut methods of machine diagnosis.

Any one who was in or near Joe Pratt's class (as was this reviewer of his book, in the class of '97) can remember many of these patients of a half-century ago and derive much pleasure in reviewing such thrilling days of investigation. Any physician of today can sharpen his diagnostic ability by carefully perusing those case-histories, although some of the diseases so prevalent then, such as typhoid and malaria, are rarely seen today. Any layman interested in the future welfare of medicine, and particularly any social economist, can profitably read this book. Pratt's description of the students' activities in these clinics deals only with their work in one department, which occupies probably less than one-sixth of their time.

We find that practically all of the 22 men and women in the 1897 class connected themselves with hospitals, in laboratory or clinical teaching, or with State or Federal medical societies in organizational work. Only seven of the class are still living.

Dr. Pratt, now aged 76 years, is recognized as one of the ablest medical men of New England. In 1905 he started a class made up of dispensary patients for instruction in home treatment for tuberculosis. This was financed by Dr. Elwood Worcester, Rector of Emmanuel Church, and it proved so successful that in 1906 Dr. Worcester began a similar dispensary class for group treatment of Emotional Disorders. In 1930 Dr. Pratt organized a similar class at the New England Medical Centre for helping patients suffering with psychosomatic disorders. I believe these three organizations mark the very beginning of group health classes for instructing the poor in methods of self-help in serious disease conditions. Dr. Pratt has been Professor of Clinical Medicine in Tufts Medical College since 1929, and the New England Medical Centre and the Joseph H. Pratt Private Hospital are now associated with 26 hospitals in Maine and a number of hospitals in western Massachusetts in a program conducted by The Bingham Association for raising the standards of work done in hospitals far removed from large medical centers.

GUY L. HUNNER.

Indiana Politics during the Civil War. By KENNETH M. STAMPP. (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. 31.) Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1949. xiii, 300 pp.

Anyone attempting to write the history of American political democracy is at once faced with the realization that many hidden factors make a realistic analysis extremely difficult. As a consequence much of the political history that has been written avoided many of these problems by concentrating merely upon external conditions. Political history, therefore, has tended to revolve essentially around the history of the presidency, the national political platforms, and national issues. The political activities in the states and localities have been relegated to a subordinate position. This, of course, has prevented a full analysis and appreciation of American democracy for its fountainhead is really to be found in these smaller divisions. If we are ever to evaluate fully the development of our peculiar democratic institutions it will be necessary to shift our emphasis toward the production of comprehensive and penetrating studies of state and local political manifestations. This volume is a significant contribution in the direction of such an emphasis.

Professor Stampp's study is admittedly "focused upon the political aspects of Indiana's war experience," but the reader is advised that the term "political" has been interpreted in its "broadest sense." An attempt is made to ascertain the economic attitudes, political affiliations, and sectional alignments of the various groups throughout Indiana. Through a maze

of detail the author skillfully and painstakingly traces the fortunes of the parties in both the state and federal theatres of political action. National developments are not overstressed, however, and are introduced only when necessary to show how they affected or were affected by the state. The national political tensions, the violent discussions centering around the revolutionary changes engendered by the conflict, and the subsequent erection of a new national and a new economic system are shown by the author to be merely broader manifestations of local problems in Indiana, the perfect microcosm.

The author begins his task by discussing adequately the political cleavages which existed in the state during the decade of the fifties. From this point he broadens out into a discussion of the factors at work during the state and national elections of 1860. The election of Lincoln is seen rather dimly reflected against the currents and eddies of the local political, social, and economic attitudes of the Hoosiers. The creation of the Union party in Indiana is handled creditably, and the author has also presented a stimulating non-partisan evaluation of Oliver P. Morton's abolition of constitutional government in 1683 and the erection of his virtual dictatorship. Many partisan historians have denounced Morton for his gross usurpation of authority and others have defended his action on the ground of expediency. It is refreshing to read a dispassionate account of these events.

One of the most interesting and provocative chapters in the study deals with the Indianapolis treason trials and the election of 1864. Professor Stampp's description of the procedure at the trials, the distortion of facts, and the attendant use of this evidence for political purposes, should go far toward showing that the stories of treason and conspiracy were largely spurious. The presentation of the true story of the treason trials should help to deflate the myth of the Conspiracy of '64 and assist the reappraisal of the entire Copperhead movement, which needs to be done.

Professor Stampp writes with an engaging and convincing style, but one must read slowly to keep pace with the wealth of detail as it is unfolded. It is the presence of so much detail which constitutes the only criticism of the book and will make it unpalatable for the general reader. As a study of local politics, however, it does much to show how closely national and state affairs are linked and how the former grows from the latter. The volume is complete with the usual footnotes, bibliography, and index. It might also be noted that sections of the book have appeared previously as articles in historical journals, and that it was originally a doctoral dissertation written at the University of Wisconsin.

WILLIAM ZORNOW.

Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Steam Boat Comes to Norfolk Harbor, and the Log of the First Ten Years. By JOHN C. EMERSON, JR. Privately printed: P. O. Box 112, Portsmouth, Va., 451 pp. $6.00.

In this book about America's primitive steamboats and their relation to Norfolk, Mr. Emerson lets excerpts from Norfolk's old newspapers tell his story. Consequently, his story is an admirably colorful one—the proud little side-wheelers, the men who built, operated and owned them, the people of the port and the port itself come into fascinating focus. Beginning with the *Washington* chuffing into the Harbor in 1815, the excerpts—advertisements placed by shipping firms and hotels, and stories rich with names like James Monroe, General Lafayette, General Winfield Scott, Henry Clay and Stephen Decatur—cover the decade in which the steamboat turned from a novelty into a big business.

To the steamboat enthusiast and to those who find the general period one of interest, $6.00 should not be too much to pay for this paper-backed, lithoprinted-from-a-typescript volume. There is a large appendix, containing steamboat data drawn from various authoritative sources; there is a fine "Steam Boat Index" listing all the ships and ship captains of the era. In addition, there is a convenient front-of-the-book chapter summary and an astonishingly complete general index.

WILLIAM STUMP.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE BALTIMORE ORIOLE'S NAME[1]

By HERVEY BRACKBILL

Recently I had occasion to compare the statements made in a few well-known bird books concerning the everyday name of the Baltimore Oriole—*Icterus galbula* in scientific terminology—and the way in which that name came to be given to the bird. Some of these statements were printed as legend and others as fact. But whichever the characterization, they differed so greatly and were so contradictory that it was plain not all could be correct. As investigation into other sources then showed that actually none could be correct, it seems worthwhile to point out the impossibilities in them, and at the same time set down what definite information has been found.

Mabel Osgood Wright, in *Birdcraft*, a book first published in 1895 and issued in many subsequent editions, relates as a "tradition" that "has sufficient facts for a foundation to be credible" a story that George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, in 1628 explored the Chesapeake Bay

[1] Adapted from "The Vernacular Name of the Baltimore Oriole," *The Wilson Bulletin*, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1949, pp. 108-109.

and on the trip saw " great flocks of Orioles, who so cheered him by their song and colour that he took them as good omens and adopted their colours for his own." Neltje Blanchan, in *Bird Neighbors*, another widely circulated book first published in 1897, tells a similar story as " popular tradition."

Edward Howe Forbush's *Birds of Massachusetts and Other New England States* is one of the most elaborate and respected of all regional bird works. In the second volume of it, published in 1927, he calls attention to Mrs. Wright's account as " history or tradition," and adds: " When, later, Linnaeus first saw the skins of this species he named it the Baltimore Oriole, as it wore the colors of Lord Baltimore." Malcolm MacDonald, a son of the late J. Ramsey MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and himself High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada during World War II, gave both of these statements new currency in *The Birds of Brewery Creek*, published in 1947.

Birds of America, an elaborate work edited by T. Gilbert Pearson that was first published in 1917 and has become very popular since its issuance in a low-priced edition in 1936, presents as " often told " fact a story that Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, came to Maryland with a company of colonists, and " certain of these colonists sent back to the old country skins of a very beautiful bird which they called an oriole. As is usual with names invented under such circumstances, this one was a misnomer." This book then also says that because of the bird's colors " Linnaeus . . . named it in honor of Lord Baltimore."

The errors and impossibilities in those stories are shown by historical and ornithological works as follows:

An " exemplification," or statement, of the Calvert family coat of arms was issued in England in 1622, and this document, now on display in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, shows that already at that time the colors were " or and Sables "—that is, gold and black. The exemplification is so quoted in, among other publications, *The Calvert Papers, No. 1*, Fund-Publication No. 28 of the Society, issued in 1889 (page 40). George Calvert became the first Lord Baltimore in 1625 [2] and made his visit to Virginia in 1629.[3] Cecil Calvert never visited America.[4]

Thus it is certain that the Baltimore colors were not adopted from the bird, and Cecil has no part in any legend.

That the bird was named after the Baltimore colors is, on the other hand, abundantly clear. But Linnaeus was not, as the bird books quoted say or imply, the first person to so name it. Initially, in his great work on plant and animal classification, Linnaeus himself gave the bird the technical name—he never gave it an " everyday " English one—of *Coracias Galbula*.[5]

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[2] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), Vol. I, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[4] Clayton Colman Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 41.

[5] Linne, Caroli a, *Systema Naturae* (Holmiae, 1758), Ed. 10, Vol. I, p. 108. For access to some of the ornithological works cited in this part of my discussion, at the United States National Museum, and for help in using them, I am greatly

Only in 1766 did he rename it *Oriolus Baltimore*.[6] Already 100 years before that, the colonists in America were calling it "the Baltimore bird."

Nathaniel Shrigley's *A True Relation of Viriginia and Maryland* published in London in 1669,[7] contains a reference to "the Baltenore bird, being black and yellow"—the name there marred by a slight typographical error, "n" for "m"; the Calverts themselves at that period sometimes spelled their title "Baltemore."[8] John Lawson, in *A New Voyage to Carolina*, published in London in 1714,[9] mentions "the Baltimore-Bird, so called from the Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of all Maryland."

Likewise, Mark Catesby, in his *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, published in London in 1731, called it the "Baltimore Bird" and explained: "It is said to have its name from the Lord Baltimore's coat of arms." And, Linnaeus' work itself indicates, and the American Ornithologists' Union so considers,[10] it was not from any skins—that is, specimens—but from Catesby's book that Linnaeus included the bird in his classification, and from Catesby that he adopted the designation *Baltimore*.

As for the "oriole" part of the present-day venacular name, it was the ornithologists, and not the lay colonists, who made this mistake. To the colonists, the bird was, as shown above, simply the "Baltimore bird." Catesby, however, giving the first naturalist's description of it in Latin, termed it an *icterus*, which was the Latin name for the birds that Europeans later came to call Orioles. Linnaeus, relying on Catesby's description, in 1758 classified it along with the European birds in the genus *Coracias*. Then in 1766, because further study had shown the European orioles to differ in important respects from other birds in that genus, Linnaeus set them apart in the new genus *Oriolus* and included the American birds in this, too. And on down to 1785 *Oriolus Baltimore* stayed strictly a technical name. Only in that year, it seems, was this translated into English as "Baltimore Oriole," by Thomas Pennant in his *Arctic Zoology*.[11] And only after that name had become firmly attached were our birds discovered to be only superficially like the "true" Orioles of other lands.[12]

To sum up, what can be accurately said about the origin of the name "Baltimore Oriole" is that the designation "Baltimore" became attached, because the bird's colors were those of the Calverts, soon after these proprietors began colonizing Maryland (the first colonists landed in

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indebted to Dr. John W. Aldrich and Mr. Allen J. Duvall, of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

[6] *Op. cit.* (Holmiae, 1766), Ed. 12, Vol. I, p. 162.

[7] Reprinted in *Force's Collection of Historical Tracts* (Washington, 1844), Vol. 3, No. 7, p. 4.

[8] *The Calvert Papers*, pp. 229, 267.

[9] Reprinted as *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond, Va., 1937), p. 152 of reprint.

[10] *Check-List of North American Birds* (Lancaster, Pa., 1931), 4th ed., p. 307.

[11] (London, 1785), Vol. 2, p. 257.

[12] It is because of the differences that the Baltimore Oriole is now placed in the genus *Icterus*, and because Linnaeus' *galbula* was the first species name given to it that that has been reverted to by classificationists.

1634, and Shrigley's *True Relation* shows that in 1669 the name was being used). This designation the ornithologists adopted from the colonists. The ornithologists also for a time regarded the bird as very closely related to the European Orioles, and before they changed their view the term "Oriole" became fixed in everyday usage.

BRICKS *WERE* IMPORTED

A deep-rooted tradition that bricks were imported to early America has often been denied by historians who have found the records of the molding, burning and sale of native brick. However, the customs impos books for the Port of Baltimore, of which a few are preserved at the National Archives, Washington, reveal entries for brick of which the following are samples:

Date	*Vessel*	*Where From*	*Declaration*
August 28, 1783	Ship Conte du Nord	Brest	20,000 bricks
Sept. 24	" Mary & Ann	Liverpool	6,000 "
Nov. 7	" Intrepid	Amsterdam	30,000 "
Nov. 12	Brig Polly Smith	"	10,000 "
Dec. 26	" Rodney	Liverpool	5,000 "
April 7, 1784	Ship America	Bremen	30,000 "
April 14	Brig Margaretta Dorathea	Philadelphia	34,000 "

This list can be extended. While the total quantities were hardly enough to affect the face of Maryland architecture, it is evident that brick, like "stone coal," was used as ballast for ocean-going ships. One incoming vessel was listed as containing nothing but "ballast." The validity of the old legend about imported brick is thus affirmed.

CHARLES E. PETERSON.

PARKER PRIZE FOR GENEALOGY

Manuscripts to be entered in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Genealogical Contest for 1949 should reach the Society not later than December 31. Entries will be judged on their accuracy, completeness and arrangement. All manuscripts should be typed and addressed: Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street.

This award is made annually for the best account of a Maryland family. It was set up in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker in memory of her late husband, with the object of promoting the study of Maryland family pedigrees and making the results accessible through the Library of the Society. All manuscripts submitted will become the property of the Society. The judges, to be selected by the Society, will determine whether one or more cash prizes are to be awarded. The fund available for prizes this year amounts to $100, which will be awarded in accordance with the advice of the judges.

Announcement—The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of Research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American History prior to the year 1815. For encouragement of projects, *already in progress*, in the social, political, economic, religious, artistic and intellectual history of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, the Institute is ready to make Grants varying in value according to the needs of the individual. Early application for the Grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1950. Application forms and other information may be obtained from the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Tilghman–Fairbairn—Information is wanted regarding the ancestry of Mary Huston Fairbairn of Baltimore, b. about 1820; married Samuel Ogle Tilghman, b. 1816, son of John Lloyd Tilghman; resided Queen Anne's Co., Md. (Bennetts Pt.?) 3 children were: (1) 1842, Maria Elizabeth, m. Richard Earle Davidson and their 2 sons married daughters of Mary Edwardine Bourke Emory; (2) 1849, Anne Rideout, m. Truman Slingluff; (3) 1851, Samuel Ogle Jr., m. Virginia Brewer and 2nd, Alice Higgins. Any Fairbairn data of Md. requested.

R. G. Smith,
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

Hall; Tucker—Wanted: Ancestors of Robert Hall; married daughter of Adam Spence; died 1740 Somerset County, Md. Ancestors and wife of William Tucker; born about 1724; settled Eastern Shore Md. about 1740; died in Delaware; related to Bermuda Tuckers.

Eldon B. Tucker, Jr., M. D.
617 Grand St., Morgantown, W. Va.

CONTRIBUTORS

Rev. NELSON W. RIGHTMYER, Chairman of the Graduate Department of the Divinity School of the Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa., is the author of the recently published study, *The Anglican Church in Delaware*. ☆ Mr. JOHNSON is an instructor in history at the University of Maryland and a canditate for the doctorate at Northwestern University. ☆ Both Mr. TILGHMAN, who is a member of the English Department at V. P. I., and Dr. FORMAN, who is Head of the Art Department at Agnes Scott College, have been occasional contributors to the Magazine.

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Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.